The COMMUNIST

OCTOBER

THE CONVENTION OF 400,000

BY B. K. GEBERT

The New Soviet Electoral Law	LEON JOSEPHSON
The Recruiting Drive	FRED BROWN
The Farmer-Labor Party Movement in the Municipal Elections	I. AMTER
Karl Marx's "Capital"	
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The COMMUNIST

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

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A Statement of the Editors on Plans for Improving "The Communist"

IN ACCORDANCE with our aim of making *The Communist* a magazine of widespread interest to all who want to be really informed on the vital economic, political and social questions of the day, the editors will undertake a number of extensive improvements.

Foremost among the new features will be the increased presentation of theoretical articles, enlightening with the Marxist-Leninist projector the practical problems facing the American working class and the progressive forces as a whole.

Such issues as *the right to work, the development of progressive industrial unionism, the sit-down strike, the advance of the People's Front movement, the developments in progress among the middle classes—farmers, intellectuals and small business people, the people's fight against the war menace,* and other issues of domestic and foreign politics, will be treated in a theoretical, fundamental way, on the basis of the underlying Marxist-Leninist principles, with the issues set in their historic perspective.

To bring *The Communist* closer to trade unionists, we shall organize special discussions of trade union problems and basic issues, involving the trade unionists as active and responsive readers and, to the extent possible, as contributors. We are desirous of involving the trade unionists by soliciting their questions and suggestions and by responding to them in a systematic way. It shall be the purpose of this feature to make *The Communist,* much more than in the past, an instrument for trade union activists.

The editors have drawn up a six-month project for the publication of such articles on trade union issues as:

Trade Unionism and Communism; The Structure and Function of Trade Unions in Soviet Life; The Passing of Pure-and-Simple Trade Unionism in the U.S.A.; Every Class Struggle Is a Political Struggles (how this is manifesting itself in the U. S. today); a series entitled: Classic Types of American Trade Union Philosophy, Program, Organization, and Practices.

The Communist will also publish, more often than hitherto, philosophic articles, elaborations of the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It will present with frequency hitherto untranslated Marxist-Leninist writings and documents. It will make permanent the recently introduced feature "From the World Communist Press," and will present important documents illustrating the advance of the socialist society in the Soviet Union, and the world-scale progress of the united front and the People's Front. Polemics will be conducted with current bourgeois ideologies and with issues brought forth in Socialist Party periodicals. Reviews of important publications will be regularly included.

Finally, emphasis will be laid on deepening the understanding of our readers in regard to the history, the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American people and on the historical development of the progressive people's movement in the United States.

We invite all our readers to offer their suggestions for further improvement of *The Communist.*

WE ANNOUNCE FOR THE FORTHCOMING ISSUE

Earl Browder, "Twenty Years of Soviet Power."

Jack Stachel, "Whither the Socialist Party?"

V. J. Jerome, "A Year of *Science and Society.*"

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Approaching Twentieth Anniversary of October Revolution. Proletarian Dictatorship Builds Socialism. Triumph of Socialism Over Capitalism. America Facing Fundamental Problems. Good Machines and Rich Harvest Creating Danger of Scarcity. Not a Paradox. American Labor in the Highway to a Socialist Conclusion. Unity of Labor and Victory of People's Front. Labor Moves to Alliance with Farmers and Middle Classes. Lewis' Speeches. Farm Legislation and Struggle Against Rising Cost of Living. What Is Wrong With Scarcity Features of New Deal? Soviet Union Solves a Problem. A Power for Peace and Progress. The Soviet Government and the Mediterranean. Chinese Communists Write to Browder. "New Republic" Makes a Mistake. On Trotskyism and Bukharinism. Stalin, the Teacher and Leader. Can You Distinguish Lovestoneism from Trotskyism? Friendship of American and Soviet Peoples. Congress of Party Builders.

WE ARE approaching the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

November 7, 1917—October 25 by the old Russian calendar—was the unforgettable day when the great socialist revolution began. The dream of centuries was coming true.

Within a month, we shall be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of that event. Twenty years of Soviet power, state power in the hands of the working class, governing in alliance with the toiling peasantry, and creating the widest, most genuine, and most effective democracy in government that the world has ever known. This is what is expressed in the Stalin Constitution and in the new election law based upon the Constitution.

It is twenty years of the existence of this new working class democratic power that we shall soon celebrate: a fifth of a century of Soviet power.

This power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the means of liberation from the class domination of the landlords, capitalists and imperialists. It was this power that enabled the peoples of the Soviet Union, headed by the working class and led by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Lenin and Stalin, to abolish capitalism and to establish socialism. It enabled them to abolish exploitation of man by man; to make the economy of the country serve the needs of the people instead of the profits of the exploiters of the people; *to establish an economy for use instead of for profits.* It enabled them to do away with crises, unemployment, anarchy of production, insecurity and the moral of dog eat dog, all of which follows inevitably from capitalism and monopoly domination; and to substitute for it a planned socialist economy in industry, agriculture, commerce and finance, providing for all citizens of the Soviet Union, as a matter of

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right, security of employment, a decent and ever-growing standard of life, education, leisure and the widest opportunities that ever existed "for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

We shall also celebrate the abolition of all forms of national oppression and discrimination which was brought about by the socialist revolution. Under capitalism and imperialism, small or backward nations are "god-given" objects for robbery, spoliation, and oppression to the benefit of the monopolists of the strong and advanced nations. Colored peoples (whether black, brown or yellow) are designated as "inferior races" whose only function is to do the dirty work for the "superior races" and be destroyed in the process. This imperialist spoliation of small and backward nations, fascism has made a cornerstone of its policies and practices, resorting to most brutal and extreme means, as amply demonstrated by Hitler in Germany and abroad, by Mussolini in Ethiopia, and by the Japanese fascist-military clique in China.

The October Revolution has made an end of all this—in the former empire of the tsar. It secured fully and in practice the equal rights of all nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. It created the widest opportunities—economic, political, and cultural—for the growth and development of the national life of the various peoples on the Lenin-Stalin principle: "national in form, socialist in content." The results of this socialist policy, the Leninist-Stalinist solution of the national question, speak for themselves. On the twentieth anniversary of the socialist revolution, the Soviet Union presents a united and happy family of nations, a voluntary union of many peoples, living and working harmoniously for the well-being and happiness of all.

This, too, is the triumph of socialism over capitalism. A triumph for the working people and all exploited everywhere. A guide for all of them to their eventual socialist liberation from the anarchy and brutality of capitalism and its fascist storm troops. A promise and a guarantee that socialism will inevitably prevail in the whole world. It is the triumph of the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism, of the truth of world Communism, and of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and of Comrade Stalin.

It is the triumph of the Communist International and its helmsman, Georgi Dimitroff.

* * *

How else can we solve permanently and thoroughly the fundamental questions confronting our people today?

In his Labor Day address, delivered in Pittsburgh to over 200,000 people, John L. Lewis discussed some of these fundamental questions. He discussed the "great task of democratizing our modern machines and technological improvements":

> "In non-technical language this means that the machines must be so managed as to extend and not reduce the field of employment; that their greater productivity must be accompanied by shorter hours of work, lower prices of output, and a general advance in mass purchasing power, or economic well-being, throughout all groups of the American people."

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The problem is well stated in its practical aspects. Yet for a permanent and complete solution of this problem, it is necessary to discover its origin. It is absolutely essential to realize that it is *capitalism* that creates this problem; that under capitalism the machine inevitably produces the *opposite* of what it should from the point of view of the increasing economic well-being of the people.

In fact, Lewis came pretty close to saying so himself. He plainly branded "the bankers and the barons of big business" as being responsible for the evils of the machine under capitalism. He said:

> "Blinded by their greed, these ruthless masters of industry stopped at nothing—including the shooting of their workers by hired mercenaries—to maintain their stranglehold over this nation's machines and men."

"The stranglehold of the bankers and the barons of big business over this nation's machines and men"—this, Brother Lewis, is capitalism. Their stranglehold over machines and men arises from the monopolistic ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. Hence: exploitation, anarchy and planlessness of production, crises, insecurity, wealth for the few and poverty for the many, spoliation and reckless wastage of the country's natural resources and labor power, production for profit instead of for use, denial of democracy and civil liberties to the masses, shooting of workers, imperialism, capitalist reaction, fascism and war.

It is precisely this "stranglehold over machine and men" by the ruthless capitalist masters of the nation's economy that was *abolished* in the former empire of the tsar by the great socialist revolution of November 7, 1917, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. This stranglehold was abolished by *socialism*. Hence: socialism is the solution.

In non-technical language this means that under socialism (as constructed in the Soviet Union), machines are so managed that they extend the field of employment, that their greater productivity is accompanied by shorter hours of work, higher income, more opportunity for leisure and culture, more security, lower prices of output, and a general advance of mass purchasing power and economic well-being throughout all groups (workers, collective farmers, intellectuals) of the many peoples of the Soviet Union.

This is a mere statement of *fact*. But it is the sort of a statement of fact that constitutes a basic conclusion, an inevitable conclusion, from the analysis of conditions under capitalism, as made by Lewis in his Pittsburgh address.

And as we prepare for the extraordinary celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist revolution, we shall want to make a special effort to help the American working class and all toilers *to reach this basic socialist conclusion*.

In doing so, we shall keep firmly in mind two important considerations. One: that the American working class is already marching on the highway that must lead to the socialist conclusion. The concrete *approaches* to this conclusion and to the socialist revolution by the American working class and its allies differ in many respects from those traveled by the working class of Russia; but as the

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American masses negotiate these approaches successfully and come face to face with the task of abolishing capitalism as the practical and immediate task, they will do it in the way of the Bolsheviks, in the way of Lenin and Stalin. Two: that we, the Communists, will be most helpful in stimulating the progress of the American working class to socialism by functioning ever more effectively as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the united and People's Fronts. And in connection with the specific issue discussed by Lewis in Pittsburgh, namely, "the great task of democratizing our modern machines and technological improvements," the Communists should be found as always:

A. *With their class,* in tireless daily struggle for every economic and political measure (no matter how partial) that will protect and defend the masses from the devastating effects of capitalist management of machines and industry, taking the initiative in formulating such measures (which we have done many times in the past) and rallying the mass movements in struggle for these measures;

B. *At the head of their class,* pointing out the next steps of the struggle, exposing capitalism as the cause of the evils of the machine today and showing the way to socialism as the solution, to the *fact* of its solution in the Soviet Union.

* * *

A good harvest should be a blessing. And so it is under socialism in the Soviet Union. Not so apparently with us here under capitalism.

The Soviet Union is gathering in an unprecedented harvest. Reports from Moscow on September 7 indicated a total of about 117,000,000 tons of grain, the largest crop in their history. A great achievement of collective agriculture spelling more plenty and happiness for the people.

In the United States also the prospects are for a good harvest. The government's grain crop estimates on September 10 indicated a harvest 55 per cent above the short crops of 1936. Are the American farmers happy about it? Can we say that it is a blessing for the American people?

There seem to exist serious misgivings as to the effect of the good harvest upon the well-being of the people. Even *The New York Times,* whose concern is not so much with the well-being of the people as with the well-being of the people's exploiters, is compelled to take note of existing misgivings. It says:

> "The sharp decline in grain prices since midsummer—wheat has sold 20 per cent below this year's earlier high price, corn has fallen still farther, and the Labor Bureau's index number of farm products is down nearly 12 per cent—has evoked some expression of misgiving as to whether the grain producer might not presently be back where he was in the markets of three or four years ago" (Sept. 11).

Three or four years ago the grain producer was in the dumps.

So here you have it. The Soviet Union, having a planned socialist economy running for use and not for profit, gathers in a great harvest, and everyone is happy about it. The United States, having a planless capitalist economy running for profit instead of for use, being part of a decaying world capitalist economy, is about to gather in a good grain harvest, and

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nearly everyone (except the bankers, speculators, and monopolists) seems to feel unhappy or, at least, uneasy.

Of course, the great harvest in the Socialist Soviet Union creates certain problems. It creates the problem of assuring a plentiful supply of manufactured goods in exchange for the farmer's produce, problems of transportation, of more efficient distribution of goods through the Soviet trading machinery. Considering that these, as well as all other, problems facing the Soviet Union have to be worked out *in a hostile capitalist encirclement,* with fascism in the East and West getting ready to jump in and interrupt the peaceful building of socialism, with fascist spies and agent-wreckers of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and other gangs not yet completely cleaned out seeking to damage as much as they can—considering all this, the solution of some of these practical problems may present some temporary difficulties. No one can speak of these difficulties, and how they are being successfully overcome, with more authority and frankness than do the Soviet peoples themselves, through their Communist Party, their press, their unions, collective farms, and other public organizations.

Yet whatever these temporary difficulties, they arise not from insoluble contradictions within the socialist system prevailing in the Soviet Union. The socialist system has no insoluble contradictions, as capitalism has. To be sure, the socialist system also has contradictions, like everything else in life. But, resting upon a planned economy, whose main organizing and directing force is *the proletarian state* concerned with the needs of all the people, every contradiction is made to create the conditions, not only for its own solution, but for a solution that raises the economy *to a higher level.* And that is what is happening in the Soviet Union every day, *literally.*

Not so with us here under capitalism. Here, we have the apparent paradox of plenty producing scarcity, of a great harvest threatening to result in a *lowering* of the standard of living of the masses. Here we are dealing with a fundamental and insoluble contradiction of the system, a contradiction that will find its solution only in socialism.

This is not to say, of course, that between now and the socialist revolution there is nothing to be done about it. There is a good deal to be done. And largely along the line of joint struggle by the working class, the toiling farmers and the middle classes of the cities against the bankers, speculators and monopolists. This line of struggle, and the concrete legislative demands for it, have been formulated by the Communist Party in its Legislative Program presented as a contribution to the program of the People's Front movement in this country. It is a line of struggle that seeks to insure prices satisfactory to the toiling farmers for their produce (grain, cotton, etc.), to reduce monopoly prices for industrial products, *to combat mercilessly the high cost of living* (food, rents, clothing, etc.), to raise the income of the working class and of the city middle classes, *to protect the masses at the expense of the profits of their exploiters.*

At the present time, *this is a central line of struggle* between progress and reaction, for the building of the

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People's Front and its eventual crystallization into a national Farmer-Labor Party. This, and the propaganda of our socialist aim, will push the mass movements further on the road to the socialist solution of the insoluble capitalist contradiction between plenty and scarcity.

The spokesmen of capitalism have their own "solutions," of course. Those, in the reactionary camp, who look back nostalgically to the Hoover era as the golden age, would like to solve the contradiction completely at the expense of the masses. And since the American masses show little inclination to accept such a "solution" without some very tangible resistance, the reactionary camp wants to curtail and eventually destroy the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people so that the masses shall not organize for effective resistance. The reactionaries are, therefore, moving to fascism. And this is how economics links up with politics, the politics that is being fought out in the municipal elections this fall and in the preparations for the Congressional elections of 1938.

The economic theory underlying the reactionary politics of the Right-wing elements in the Democratic Party and of the dominating forces in the Republican Party is relatively simple. It has been stated again by the National City Bank in its September monthly bulletin:

> "The crops mean new wealth, and prosperity in the farm areas on the basis of plenty instead of scarcity. Provided the products the farmer buys are not advanced too rapidly in price, the farmer gains and has his purchasing power increased, and the urban worker also gains through the lower cost of food."

This innocent looking theory is chock-full of reactionary politics and is completely at variance with the facts as known to every American household, whether on the farms or in the cities. The mere prospect of good crops has been sending down farm prices months before the actual gathering in of the harvest, thus immediately worsening the conditions of the toiling farmers and creating among them great uneasiness. Second, the cost of living in the cities has been mounting, even though there has been no actual scarcity of food in the country, but, on the contrary, quite a sufficiency of foodstuffs. And, third, the monopoly prices of the products bought by the farmer have generally never missed keeping many jumps ahead of the prices paid to the toiling farmer for his products, whether the harvest was good or bad.

What this economic theory of reaction is trying to do is to prevent federal aid in the matter of farm prices. It is firing away at the New Deal programs for crop control and federal subsidies, and it is doing the shooting behind the cover of championing plenty as against the New Deal scarcity. But this is *sheer hypocrisy*. Scarcity for the masses in the face of plenty for their exploiters is the very essence of capitalism, which these reactionaries are trying to preserve by all means and at all costs, including fascism. Moreover, "regulated" scarcity, deliberate curtailment of production for the purpose of raising and maintaining high monopoly prices, is again the very essence of monopoly capital. It is the life blood of every trust and corporation fed by government subsidies and tariffs.

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It is truly galling to see the high priests of monopoly capital oppose regulation of farm prices and production "in the name of plenty." When the New Deal formulated its A.A.A., it simply picked a leaf from the standard book of the monopolies. And it did so because it sought to bring relief only to certain sections of farmers (farmer capitalists and groups of middle farmers) *without hurting the monopolies,* but largely at the expense of the small farmers, the workers and city middle classes. In other words, the defects of the A.A.A. (including the scarcity features) arose, not from the attempt to regulate prices and production, but from the fact that these attempts were made *strictly within the scheme of capitalist economy,* with too much regard to the profits and privileges of the monopolies, and with insufficient regard to the needs and interests of the toiling farmers, the workers and the city middle classes.

We must make sure that the masses learn fully all these experiences from the A.A.A.; and in supporting, as they should, a program for regulation of farm prices and production, they should present effective demands for making the scheme work in the interests of the mass of the farmers, the working class and the middle classes of the cities, that is, the cost of regulation shall, in accord with the legislative proposals of the Communist Party, be paid by the monopolies, the bankers, the speculators, and not be shifted from one section of the toiling people to another. These demands should be presented jointly by labor, farmer and middle class organizations *at the forthcoming regional agricultural hearings* authorized by Congress in preparation for its next session.

In his national broadcast on September 3, John L. Lewis said:

> ". . . it becomes increasingly imperative that the farm population and the millions of workers in industry must learn to combine their strength for the attainment of mutual and desirable objectives and at the same time learn to guard themselves against the sinister propaganda of those who would divide and exploit them."

This is a momentous declaration. And no better beginning could be made for putting it into effect than for Labor's Non-Partisan League joining hands with the farm organizations and with middle class representatives to present a common front *at the farm hearings* on the basis of a common agricultural program to serve the interests of all the people. Such an effort would be invaluable as preparation for joint action in the Congressional election of 1938.

Thus, we shall fight effectively for the needs of the masses today; and by bringing to them the socialist experiences of the Soviet Union in contrast to their experiences under capitalism, prepare the working class and its allies for the socialist solution of tomorrow.

* * *

THE socialist revolution of November 7, 1917, in Russia opened up a new epoch in the history of humankind, the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the coming of socialism as a new world system. In the two decades, there has grown up a new power, the center of a socialist world system; a veritable fortress for peace, democracy, and progress throughout the world.

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We are here concerned especially with the role of the Soviet Union today as the greatest single force for peace, democracy and progress. In the face of the complete exposure of fascism as being identical with war (recall Dimitroff's declaration at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International that "Fascism Is War"), as the greatest daily menace to world peace (Ethiopia, Spain, China), and in contrast to that the consistent, continuous and truly international policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union, it would seem as though there could be no room any longer for informed people to misunderstand that the Soviet Union is in fact the greatest power for peace, progress and democracy. And this is so. The peace and democracy-loving peoples of the world lean ever more closely to the Soviet Union as the most powerful champion of their best aspirations.

But there is still room enough, it seems, for wilful and malicious misinterpretation.

We are not referring here to the camp of open reaction and fascism. From there we expect nothing else. But from organs of expression which claim to stand on the platform of democracy (bourgeois democracy, naturally), which claim to oppose fascism, and which do seem to be orientated somewhat in that direction, we should have a right to expect something better. But, alas, we must register a disappointment. We must also record an opinion that such wilful misinterpretation of the peace policies of the Soviet Union is a direct help to the fascists and war-makers, regardless of intentions.

It is about the Soviet notes to Italy demanding an end to Mussolini's piratical antics in the Mediterranean, and Comrade Litvinov's speech at the Nyon conference. *The New York Times* contrasts these genuine peace actions and effective ones of the Soviet Union to the hypocritical and cowardly and pro-fascist policies of the British Tories and reaches the following conclusion:

> "No doubt Russia is genuinely concerned about the present threat to neutral shipping and to its own shipping in particular. But it is evident that the Russians are also interested in a much larger question. They do not want a rapprochement between Italy on one side and Britain on the other: for they prefer Europe as an armed camp in which two hostile forces, communism and fascism, struggle for supremacy" (Sept. 11).

In a more vulgar and smart-alecky way, the *World-Telegram* delivers itself of the same wisdom:

> "Adding fuel to fire, Soviet Russia sends warlike notes to Italy and London. . . . The vast masses of plain people everywhere . . . stand with Britain and France in their efforts to overcome the present crisis" (Sept. 9).

How else shall one characterize these outbursts than as wilful and malicious misinterpretation?

First of all, who is it that created the fire, the tension and the crisis in the Mediterranean? Obviously, fascism: Italian, German and, closely connected, Japanese. This was not created in one day, as is well known, but through a period of time in which the fascist powers were waging war upon the Spanish republic and in which the bourgeois democracies (England, France and the United States), especially the British Tories,

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were continually retreating before the aggression of the fascist gangsters and thus encouraging them to go ahead and entrench themselves in new strategic points and become more prepared for the new world war which they are seeking.

And what did the Soviet Union do in this period? Can anybody still be in doubt about it? It maintained peace itself and worked with all its might to bring together all forces of peace to stop the fascist aggressors, to save the peoples of the world from a new world war.

Secondly, what is it *that lies at the bottom* of the fascist wars against the Spanish republic and against the Chinese people and that spurs them on to a new world war? *Imperialism,* gentlemen of the *Times* and *World-Telegram,* your good old stand-by, capitalism with its imperialist rivalries and contradictions. And for this, one surely cannot blame the Soviet Union.

The reason the situation became so tense in the Mediterranean is that the *imperialist contradictions* between Italy and England, and Italy and France, have grown very acute due to the reckless way in which Mussolini seeks to make the Mediterranean a "Roman sea," to drive England out of there, and to impede the contact between France and its colonies in Africa, thus endangering French national security. As *Pravda* says:

> "The robber war in Ethiopia, intervention in Spain, and pirate attacks on peaceful merchant ships clearly show which road Italian fascism intends to take to realize this task. It is the road to a new world war" (Quoted in the *Daily Worker,* Sept. 9).

Thirdly, in the face of these facts, the Soviet Union came forward, signalized the danger, exposed the exact source (Mussolini), and proposed effective practical action to overcome the danger before it was too late. In other words, *it made a powerful move for peace,* for peace of the world which is threatened by fascist aggression in its *imperialist struggles* against Britain and France. And in this the Soviet Union was considerably successful. The sea patrol organized by the Nyon Conference is a step to collective security as advocated by the Soviet Union.

This is the truth. But *The New York Times* and the *World-Telegram* do not like the truth evidently. So up pops the theory that the fight is between fascism and communism, exactly what the fascists would like the world to believe; and that the British Tories are merely stepping in to pacify a troubled situation created by communism and fascism struggling for supremacy.

This is the theory behind which fascism is already waging war in Spain and China—"fighting communism." It is the smokescreen behind which fascism is preparing the new world war. When we realize that the same *New York Times* and *World-Telegram* are ready to betray democracy at home (see how they combat even Roosevelt) the moment the monopolies are called upon to disgorge some more of their profits to pay taxes, it will be easier to understand their apparent readiness to abandon peace and democracy abroad the moment they get *an illusion* that they can make a compromise with fascism.

We should be the last ones to overlook the great and fundamental con-

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tradiction between socialism and capitalism, whether capitalism is maintained by bourgeois democracy or fascism. This contradiction, the central one in the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution, will find its solution only in the world victory of socialism. And to this solution we are dedicated.

Yet and because of that, we are not willing to overlook the fact that *at the present time* fascism threatens not only socialism in the Soviet Union and, for the moment, not even primarily the Soviet Union, but all countries and nations that are not interested in war, all bourgeois democracies, all progressive elements everywhere. It threatens the peace of the world, the security of many nations, the positions of England and the United States. It is this objective fact that makes the fight between fascism and democracy the central issue today. That is why a world-wide peace front is possible. But that is not helped along when people claiming to be for democracy and peace are willing to accept even a modified version of the fascist pretense that their war actions in Spain and China, robbing foreign peoples and territories and destroying democracy, are "a fight against communism."

We can understand Hugh Johnson, the synthetic general. With every day that passes, it becomes clearer that he is deliberately paving the way for reaction while hanging on to the coattails of the camp of democracy. According to our general, the thing Japan is fighting in China is Communism. He accepts for it the words of the Japanese allies of Hitler. His aim is to dissipate the evident sympathies of the American people for the Chinese people, the happiness of wide circles of Americans over the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between China and the Soviet Union which cannot but strengthen the Chinese people in their heroic determination to free their country from the Japanese invaders; to cool the encouragement imparted to the peace camp in America (and everywhere) by the news that the Chinese Red Army and the Chinese Communists are joining in the common fight against the Japanese aggressors along the lines of the policy advocated by the Communist Party of China for many years. Trying to dissipate the growing movement here in support of China, the general has even coined a cheap sounding misleading little phrase, "I certainly didn't raise my boy to be a soldier fighting for the Russian Reds on any Asiatic battlefield."

Well, that is Hugh Johnson and his Wall Street master—Bernard Baruch. And that should be timely warning to those adherents of peace and democracy who, in unguarded moments, feel inclined to lend an ear to the fascist assertion that this is a fight "between fascism and communism."

We must also say that we should be the last ones to overlook the fact that the Communists are the most consistent fighters against fascism, as they are for everything in the interests of the people. The Communists are the most consistent fighters for peace, and for the national independence of their peoples (where this is endangered), because they are Marxists and proletarian internationalists. We are tremendously proud of our comrades in

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Spain and of the American Communists who went there. We are equally proud of the Chinese Communists who are playing such a big role in helping to rally the Chinese people in their great struggle for liberty and national freedom against the Japanese invaders.

We hope we shall not be considered vain when we refer with especial pride to the three historic letters to Comrade Browder, leader of the Communist Party of the United States, addressed to him by Mao Tse-tung, Chu-Teh, and Chow En-lai, the outstanding leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, and the Chinese Soviet territories. These letters (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 7) discuss with our Party the tasks in China and the help which the American people can render. Comrade Chu-Teh expresses it in the concluding two sentences of his letter: "Long Live the Solidarity of the Chinese and American People," "Long Live the Victory of Our Struggle Against Fascism." Comrade Browder's speech at the Coney Island Velodrome (Sept. 6) gave our answer. We will help build the solidarity between the people of China and America. We will do all in our power to hasten the victory of the struggle against fascism.

Communists are the most consistent fighters for peace because this is dictated by the interests of the peoples of all countries as well as by the interests of socialism. We do not believe, as Norman Thomas seems to, that the advance of socialism needs a "new crisis of war" (*Socialist Review*, Sept., 1937). On the contrary, the victory of peace over fascism and war will create the conditions for the most unprecedented advance of socialism. Nor do we believe that the fight for peace is the private affair of the Communists and Socialists. No. *It is the vital affair of all peoples, of all advanced and progressive humanity.*

* * *

QUESTIONS of peace policy and program can be legitimately discussed and differences ironed out in the camp of those who genuinely favor peace and oppose the fascist war-makers. It is from this angle that a word of criticism must be said on certain attitudes which found expression, among others, in the *New Republic*. This journal addresses itself to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, as follows:

> "The fatal policy, from the standpoint of peace, Mr. Secretary, is in our judgment the one you are now pursuing, of striking a moral attitude against aggression and at the same time insisting that we do not intend to go to war to halt it" (Sept. 15).

Two things are wrong with this. One is the complete underestimation of the political peace value of the "moral attitude" of opposition to the fascist war aggression when coming from a country as powerful as the United States. Least of all were we prepared to find the *New Republic* dismissing the value of moral attitudes. Second, and even worse, is the implied insistence that, if you want moral opposition to be effective, you must declare your readiness to go to war. This is not true. Talking concretely (not in the moral abstract), and the struggle against war must be a concrete struggle, the declared moral opposition by the peace forces

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of the world to fascist aggression, demonstrated collectively and cemented in a pact (or pacts) of non-aggression and mutual assistance, *would today be sufficient to halt the aggressors and to prevent the outbreak of a new world war.* The potential forces of peace are incomparably stronger than those of the fascist war-makers. Only they have to be united and made to demonstrate this unity. Tomorrow, if the fascists are allowed to go on and become more prepared for world war, this may not be enough to halt them and to prevent the outbreak of such a war; but today it still is.

The correct and justified criticism of the present policies of the Roosevelt administration on peace is not that these policies contain moral opposition to fascist aggression; this is their strong point. Nor should the criticism be directed at the failure of the administration to declare its readiness to go to war to back up its moral opposition. No. The correct criticism is that the administration does not proceed to supplement its moral opposition with a policy of collective action for peace together with the Soviet Union, France, England, China, etc., taking the initiative in urging such collective action, and to put forward as part of such collective action, based upon the Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty, a Pacific Pact of Non-Aggression. It is still possible to prevent the outbreak of a new world war by precisely this kind of collective action for peace.

But this is not all. There is considerable scope for peace action by the peoples themselves (as distinct from the governments), in which the labor movement would have to play a leading role. An important form of such action was proposed by the three maritime organizations of the C.I.O. It is to unite the labor movement for the task of enforcing an embargo against Japan. It reads:

> "The National Maritime Union will cooperate with other progressive trade unions in any and all efforts to have Japan classified as an aggressor nation and enforce an economic embargo against her until such time as all Japanese troops are withdrawn from China" (*The Herald Tribune,* Sept. 6).

For such a plan we must seek to win the labor movement. This will make it practical and effective.

One thing is absolutely certain: to accept the present position of the *New Republic* means to accept fatalistically the coming of a new world war in which the United States will be in, not out.

The great danger of the moment is that the American government will adopt for China the same sort of "neutrality" that it is practising towards Spain; a neutrality that spells virtual support for Japan. Even though this may be practised on a "24 hour basis," *this is the danger* that threatens to draw America into a new world war and not the failure of Secretary Hull to back up his moral attitudes with a declaration of readiness to go to war.

Consequently, it is necessary to intensify manifold the struggle for genuine collective peace. It is imperative to render the utmost support to the activities of the American League Against War and Fascism along these lines and to help build up its forthcoming national congress into the widest possible gathering of the peace

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forces of the country. This—and the mobilization of the labor movement, and all progressive forces, for the peace position adopted by the maritime organizations of the C.I.O.

* * *

SOCIALISM in the Soviet Union was triumphant, thereby establishing in the world an impregnable force for peace, democracy and progress, *because Leninism was victorious* and Trotskyism and Bukharinism were defeated and destroyed.

We speak here of Trotskyism and Bukharinism of the time when they were still currents in the labor movement; anti-Leninist currents, hostile to the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and pushing the great socialist revolution to defeat. It is the immortal achievement of Comrade Stalin that these anti-Leninist currents were defeated theoretically and Leninism further developed to meet the needs of the period of the construction of socialism; and that these currents were routed politically and eliminated from the labor movement. Thus and only thus was the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union possible and with it the emergence into the world arena of a fortress for peace and democracy which no power on earth can overcome.

Comrade Stalin's genius as teacher and leader has made these victories possible. Since Lenin's death, and on the basis of Leninism, Stalin charted the road, organized the Party and masses, inspired the people and urged them on to victory. Even the enemy is forced to acknowledge the fact that the great Stalin is the beloved leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of advanced and progressive humanity throughout the world.

His wisdom, his humanity, his unbreakable will, his comradeship, his great powers of thought and action—this it is that led the camp of socialism to victory. When we take pride, as we do, in the world historic achievements of the socialist revolution and of world communism; when we admire, as we do, the heroism and leadership of our comrades in Spain and China; when we are filled with happiness, as we are, at the forward march of the great world army of labor, socialism, progress, peace and democracy; when we experience all this—can we help thinking of Stalin?

Marxists are not hero-worshippers in the vulgar sense of the word. They do not explain history and great mass movements by the thoughts and actions of great individuals. Neither do Marxists forget that truly great leaders of the people, masters of the laws of revolution and of the basic forces underlying great mass movements, exercise a decisive influence on the course of history, especially at its crucial and turning points.

How can we overlook *that* when we had Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin?

On the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, in the midst of the world struggle for the unity of the working class and for the People's Front against fascism and war, we become more conscious than ever before of this outstanding fact: *Stalin's leadership in the defeat and rout of Trotskyism and Bukharinism as anti-Leninist currents in the labor movement was decisive for the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and for the emergence and gradual crystallization*

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of the worldwide front of peace and democracy against fascism and war.

Today we meet the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, no longer as a hostile political current in the labor movement, but as agents of fascist banditism, as spies, wreckers, splitters, sneaking into labor organizations to create disunity and inner struggles, hampering and sabotaging the movements of the masses, working for the fascist barbarians and war-makers. This is what the Soviet Union is cleaning out from its midst and is thus becoming stronger and more impregnable—a stronger force for peace, democracy and progress.

The American labor movement is having its own experiences with these wreckers and splitters, agents of fascist banditism. The Socialist Party, which admitted the Trotskyites into its midst despite our warnings, has been forced to recognize that the presence of Trotskyism was destroying the Socialist Party; hence the beginning of expulsions of Trotskyites from the Socialist Party. It is to be hoped that the Socialist Party will also recognize, and the sooner the better for itself, that in dealing with the Trotskyites it is dealing, not with a mere infraction of Party discipline, but with agents of the enemy, the worst enemy of the working class and of progress.

It is also becoming evident that Lovestoneism is degenerating into something that closely resembles Trotskyism. The reckless factionalism and unprincipledness of Lovestoneism, its disloyalty, and inability to abide by the discipline of a working class organization, its ideological corruption, all of which led to its elimination from the Communist Party in 1929, have in the course of these years become less and less distinguishable from the Trotskyism of today.

Lovestoneism is beginning to behave like Trotskyism. It sneaks into labor organizations under false pretenses. With no influence or any sort of mass support, Lovestoneism operates through picked agents, "fixing" things in the dark, conspiring and manipulating, and all to one purpose—artificially to create factions, to fan legitimate differences of opinion into fratricidal struggle, *to prevent unity of labor at all cost,* to wreck and split the forces of labor and its allies wherever they get a chance. This is what Lovestoneism is doing. Can you distinguish it easily from Trotskyism?

Add to this the following: Lovestoneism together with Trotskyism have made themselves in America the main champion of the P.O.U.M., the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite agents in Spain working for Franco. Lovestoneism is carrying on the most vicious incitement against the Spanish republic. Moreover, together with the Trotskyites, Lovestoneism is waging war against the anti-fascist People's Front everywhere, including its development in the United States. And last, but not least, Lovestoneism is waging the same sort of campaign against the Soviet Union as the Trotskyites are waging. Lovestoneism has even adopted the Trotskyite slogan: "Remove Stalin." Can you distinguish Lovestoneism from Trotskyism?

No, it is very difficult. It becomes impossible.

Hence we say: we must constantly keep the labor movement on guard against these wreckers and destroyers of the unity of the working class and

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of the people. We must help the labor movement expose and identify them. When we do so, the labor movement will have little difficulty in ridding itself of this vermin.

* * *

Our central aim in the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution is *to help strengthen the ties of friendship between the people of the United States and the peoples of the Soviet Union.*

Every thoughtful observer has testified to the fact that there exists among the peoples of the Soviet Union a widespread admiration for the people of the United States: conquerors of nature, pioneers in technology, and wonderfully efficient organizers, perseverent in the prosecution of practical tasks, experimenters and go-getters, breakers of obstacles and marvelous builders. It is significant that all our great teachers valued and admired these qualities of the American people – Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

And from our own experience, we can testify to another fact: the growing admiration for the Soviet people among the American people—and admiration for the breadth of the revolutionary range of action and vision of the Soviet people; their tremendous successes, never paralleled in history, of overcoming so rapidly the inertia, inefficiency and chaos maintained and perpetuated by the old landlord-capitalist order; their epoch-making achievements in the building up of a modern economy; the famous Five-Year Plan of socialist construction; the scale and magnitude of the tasks and accomplishments; their conquests in the Arctic and of the North Pole; the Soviet fliers and the possibilities opened by them for intercourse between the two great countries; the coming to a full and rich life of so many backward and oppressed nationalities; and, to sum it all up, the coming into existence in such short a span of time of a first-rate power for peace, progress and democracy.

We could get a glimpse of this deep-seated and widespread admiration and friendship for the Soviet peoples in the warm-hearted and enthusiastic welcome given by the American people to the Soviet fliers on their two arrivals to this country.

We want to cement that into strong and unbreakable ties of friendship between the peoples of the two great countries. There is so much in common and so much to complement one another for their mutual benefit, progress and prosperity.

You remember how Stalin discussed Lenin's "style of work"? Not the literary style but "those particular and peculiar features inherent in the practice of Leninism which give rise to the special type of Leninist worker." You remember that? *The wide Russian revolutionary range of action and American efficiency.* And here is how Stalin discusses these two features of the Leninist style of work:

> "The wide Russian revolutionary range of action is an antidote against inertness, routine, conservatism, mental stagnation and slavish submission to ancestral traditions. This wide range is the vivifying force which awakens thought, pushes forward, breaks with the past and opens up perspectives. Without it no progress can be made."

This is the Russian feature. Now the American:

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"American efficiency, on the other hand, is an antidote to 'revolutionary' phrasemongering and fantastic invention. American efficiency is that indomitable spirit that neither knows nor will be deterred by any obstacle, that plugs away with business-like perseverance until every impediment has been removed, that simply must go through with a job once it has been tackled, even if it be of minor importance and without which serious constructive work is out of the question."

These thoughts were uttered by Stalin thirteen years ago in his famous lectures on the "Foundation of Leninism." But they are just as fresh and vital as if they had been uttered today. Even more so. He summed up.

"The combination of the wide Russian revolutionary range of action with American efficiency is the quintessence of Leninism in Party and state work."

And on the same basis we could say: the all-round collaboration (economic, political and cultural) between the peoples and governments of the United States and of the Soviet Union will be a blessing to the progress and prosperity of the two countries as well as to the peace and progress of the whole world.

Forward to the widest mass celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution!

Forward to the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the great peoples of the U. S. and the U.S.S.R.!

* * *

ALWAYS remembering: a numerically larger and ideologically stronger Communist Party will do a better job for strengthening these ties, for cementing the unity of the American working class despite all obstacles, for pushing forward the building of the People's Front and its eventual national crystallization into the Farmer-Labor Party.

Yes, *a numerically larger Communist Party*. This means the success of our present two-month recruiting drive. All efforts must go into the making of this success. Our November Party Builders Congress, coinciding with the celebrations of the October Revolution, should crystallize this triumph of our recruiting drive.

This means, among other things, proper concentration on the best elements of the working class in the basic industries and in the most important trade unions. This we must not forget. Nor shall we forget that our effective participation in the municipal elections this fall, *building the People's Front and bringing forth the Party* as we are taught by Browder and Foster, will enable us to score greater successes in the recruiting drive.

The numerically stronger Communist Party, we shall need very badly in the coming months especially to help strengthen the people's camp against resurgent reaction. We need it to insure that the crucial *next steps* towards the national Farmer-Labor Party will be correct ones: neither at the tail end of the masses nor too far in advance of them, neither narrowing down the camp of progress nor passively hanging onto its weaker elements, but building more intensively the independent political power of labor and strengthening its alliance and collaboration with all progressive forces, in accord with the policies adopted by the June meeting of our Central Committee.

Forward to a victorious recruiting drive! A. B.

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THE CONVENTION OF 400,000

BY B. K. GEBERT

THE Milwaukee Convention of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America goes into the pages of the history of the labor movement as a tribute to the policies, program and leadership of the militant C.I.O. The convention gave the answer to the question as to what kind of a labor movement we shall have, once the mass production industries are organized.

BACKGROUND

The automobile industry is one of the youngest of the mass production industries, and its workers are also young. The workers pass out of the industry too quickly because of the tremendous strain of the speed-up on the belt lines. This composition of the workers was clearly reflected at the convention. It was a convention of young people, young not only in years but young in the ranks of organized labor. But in spite of their youthfulness, the delegates fully realized the role that they had to play at the convention. They were paving the way for their own destiny and, in a way, the destiny of the American labor movement.

These workers had never known defeat. They had marched from victory to victory. And the delegates to the convention were the leaders of successful organizational drives, heroic sit-down strikes, mass picket lines, and mass demonstrations. There was no separation between the big class struggles that have taken place in the industry and the spokesmen at the convention. The policies of the C.I.O. immeasurably superior to those of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats—policies of mass action, militancy, industrial unionism, and wide democratic participation of the rank and file in the struggles and leadership of this new mass union—were clearly in evidence at this historic convention.

This was the union's second annual convention. At the time of the special convention in South Bend, held on April 22, 1936, the United Automobile Workers of America had approximately 30,000 members. The Milwaukee convention was attended by over 1,100 delegates with a total voting strength of 1,874, who came from 296 locals, and represented approximately 400,000 members.

The U.A.W.A. now has agreements with more than four hundred companies, including contracts with two of the "big three"—General Motors and Chrysler—leaving only the Ford Motor Company to be organized. This phenomenal growth, unequaled in the history of the American labor movement, is due to the C.I.O.

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Without the C.I.O., the U.A.W.A. would never have grown to its present proportions. The role of the C.I.O. is characterized not only by the fact that the U.A.W.A. is one of its affiliates, but by the additional fact that the leadership of the C.I.O. played a direct and very important part in all of the major developments in the automobile industry. It is sufficient to point out that the U.A.W.A. received constant guidance and leadership from the C.I.O. at the most crucial moments, as in the strike of General Motors workers, and, above all, during the Flint strike, to which the C.I.O. paid special attention, with John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O. personally negotiating agreements together with the leaders of the U.A.W.A. This also is true of the Chrysler strike which followed the General Motors strike.

The automobile industry absorbed workers from many other industries. Among automobile workers one can find former miners, steel workers, railroad workers, metal workers, and many others. Many of these had previous experience in the trade union movement, and among them are a large number of class-conscious workers, a relatively strong Communist Party, and in lesser strength, the Socialist Party. It is this that made possible the successes in building the union.

This union grew and developed in struggle from the very beginning. The U.A.W.A. was formed originally from federal locals chartered by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., a form of organization which was unsuitable to the highly trustified and monopolized industry. On top of this, it was dominated by the reactionary, bureaucratic Francis J. Dillon, personal representative of William Green. It was against this reactionary leadership that the federal locals revolted. They overthrew the leadership of Dillon and his clique, and at the South Bend Convention elected a leadership that, generally speaking, was in favor of the policies and program pursued by the C.I.O., that is, the building of an industrial union, embracing all automobile workers. It adopted militant and progressive policies, freeing itself from the deadening grip of the influence of the Dillon clique. That was the first important victory for the automobile workers. Immediately, although yet small in numbers, this union threw itself into the gigantic task of organizing the stronghold of the American open shop industry, and as President Homer Martin declared at the convention, *"The union had a clean sweep of victories."* It gained a $300,000,000 increase annually in wages for the automobile workers.

It established a system of shop stewards which became the foundation of the union, involving many thousands of active workers in the leadership; secured recognition from General Motors, Chrysler, and a number of other corporations; and, above all, was able to give protection to its members on the job from unjustified firings of workers by the employers. Jobs were made more secure under the contracts signed. The only exception to this is the Ford Motor Company, which still remains unorganized.

The union expanded constantly and has every opportunity for further expansion, with the organization of the Ford Motor Co., airplane workers,

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completion of the organization of auto parts shops throughout the United States and Canada, and of the office workers employed in the auto industry. The splendid progress of the union is also a result of the inner democracy that prevails in the organization. Clearly, this is one of the most democratic unions in America; surely, one of the most democratic in the mass production industries.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE CONVENTION

Under such conditions, the convention faced only such problems as:

1. Completion of the job of organizing the unorganized, and above all the Ford Motor Company.

2. The renewal of agreements in General Motors, with the object of securing sole collective bargaining rights in all plants of General Motors; further increases in wages, and shorter working hours.

3. Developing independent political action in alliance with all other labor and progressive organizations of the country.

4. Broadening and developing the struggle against the growing menace of fascism which expresses itself in many forms, and combatting vigilantism, particularly as it raises its head in the industrial centers of the nation, and which organizationally finds its expression in the so-called "Johnstown's National Citizens' Committee."

5. As far as the internal union problems are concerned, there were differences of opinion as to the new constitution, the major question being: shall there be centralization of power in the hands of the president or shall the union be a disciplined organization, but with the broadest democracy for the members?

To meet these issues, the genuine progressive forces within the Automobile Workers Union clearly realized the need of *unity of all constructive forces,* because without such unity no advancement can be made in the next steps of the union, the organization of 125,000 workers employed by the Ford Motor Company.

Of no less importance is the problem of the union securing sole collective bargaining with General Motors for all its plants in the United States and Canada, to strengthen the power of the shop stewards and bargaining committees in the respective plants. To release all the strength of the union, it was necessary to establish, not only the unity of all the forces, but to have inner union democracy, as there can be no progressive militant policy toward the employers with bureaucratic suppression of the will of the membership within the organization. Union discipline does not consist of bureaucratic, mechanical control of the organization; it must be based upon the will of the membership—a membership that has gone through big class struggles in which it has demonstrated discipline during the period of stay-in strikes and mass actions.

The genuine progressive element, as well as the membership as a whole, were against all factionalism within the union and for the unification of all constructive forces for the next major advances the union was preparing to make. There was no division in the ranks of the membership. The membership stood solidly behind its union, and in contrast with the bureaucratic

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methods of the A. F. of L., looked toward its C.I.O. union as a democratic, militant union in which full rights for free expression on all questions are quaranteed. The membership resented raising a "Red hunt" against the most advanced militant section of the workers, because in this they saw, not only an attack on the rights of the members of the union, but also capitulation before the reactionary forces and the employers.

All these problems could have been easily solved and adjusted through proper discussion before and at the convention itself. Unfortunately, the natural development of this discussion was checked to some extent by the introduction of factionalism within the union—factionalism introduced for the purpose of preventing the growth of the union along a normal path. The people responsible for this committed a social crime. The responsibility for it rests with the unhealthy and outside influence of Jay Lovestone, a renegade expelled from the Communist Party, who can only prosper by intrigues and creating dissension within the ranks of the labor movement.

THE PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS AND THE UNITY CAUCUS

The Martin-Frankensteen Progressive Caucus, which came into existence before the convention, consisted of progressive elements with conservative traditions, to which a number of reactionaries attached themselves with the job of reintroducing reactionary policies into the union, and to this line-up Lovestone attached himself and played a most destructive role during the whole pre-convention period.

As a result of this, there appeared on the pre-convention scene the Martin-Frankensteen Progressive Caucus; another group, the Unity Caucus, centered around Mortimer and Hall, respectively first and second vice-presidents, embracing most of the progressive and militant leaders of the union, who were supported by the majority of the big local unions, with its main strength in Detroit, Flint, and in Ohio.

The Progressive Caucus adopted a policy of exclusion. Among other things, its aim was to eliminate from the leadership Wyndham Mortimer, a signer of the U.A.W.A. agreement with General Motors, and one who led the organizational drive in Flint previous to the strike; as well as Ed Hall, who distinguished himself as one of the builders of the union, as an excellent negotiator, and also in other activities of the union.

The Unity Caucus, on the other hand, raised the slogan of *Unity of All Constructive Forces in the Union!* It demonstrated this in its program and its slate of candidates, by its stand, not for exclusion, but for embracing in the leadership all those who were able to contribute towards further building and expanding the Union, those who have proved that their place is in the leadership.

The Progressive Caucus demanded the curtailment of democracy, calling for the centralization of power in the hands of the president. The Unity Caucus, on the other hand, demanded that the power of the president be defined, and that he be responsible to the Executive Board, and not that he should supersede the Board.

Among other issues of decisive im-

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portance was the organization of Ford's, which the Unity Caucus put in the very forefront. The Progressive Caucus had omitted entirely the organization of Ford's from its pre-convention program, just as it had omitted the struggle against vigilantism which the Unity Caucus brought out sharply. At the convention itself, the Progressive Caucus came out for the organization of Ford's and for the struggle against vigilantism, President Martin, particularly, demanding the organization of Ford's.

These were the major differences between the two groups in the union. The caucuses were legal institutions. They met openly before and during the convention, even to the point where a session of the convention was adjourned so that the caucuses might meet.

In addition to the differences stated above, there was something more, namely "Red-hunting." At the caucus meetings of the Progressive group, Red-baiting was the main theme. Openly, the Progressive Caucus leaders always denied that they were Red-baiting; but they did nothing to combat it. The Unity Caucus stood definitely against "Red-baiting," and combatted it. Vice-President Ed Hall in his report to the convention declared:

"Because of the effectiveness of the organization of the automobile workers under the banner of the C.I.O., the manufacturers have resorted finally to the only avenue left of trying to repudiate us by bringing up the 'Red scare.' The American Federation of Labor has likewise followed in line with the manufacturers' association in playing the same tune, only on a different instrument. Let us not be misled by all of this shouting of communism when we have to sit in negotiations with the manufacturers and argue this same point with them. Why should we, as working people, argue it amongst ourselves? True, there are a few Communists among our ranks, and they are employed by the automobile industry, but who are we to say that an individual does not have the right to think as he may? We have been suppressed in our actions for organization for years; we have been suppressed in freedom of speech, certainly now we should not allow ourselves to be suppressed in freedom of thought."

The Progressive Caucus likewise attempted to bring to the forefront charges against the Unity Caucus leaders that they were "irresponsible," that they were promoting unauthorized strikes. Indirectly, President Martin in his printed report to the convention devoted quite a number of paragraphs to this question. Fortunately, he omitted from his spoken report these parts, which caused his report to correspond to the true situation.

How did the convention meet all of these issues? *Unity* in the ranks of the U.A.W.A., *unity* in the ranks of organized labor, *unity* with all progressive forces in the struggle against the enemies of the people, against fascism and vigilantism, *unity* to organize Ford's—these were the predominant issues during the whole seven days of the convention. It was sufficient for any speaker to use the word *"unity,"* and an overwhelming majority of the delegates would rise to their feet and cheer, as was the case on the very first day of the convention when Ora Gassaway of the United Mine Workers of America made reference to the fact that the union needed unity.

The first clash at the convention took place on the question of the

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right of the minority on the convention committees to make their reports. Unfortunately, the vote took place on the appeal from the ruling of the chair and lost by a ratio of 55 to 45. It was not a real test of the voting strength of either the Unity or Progressive caucus. Yet that ruling stifled the proper workings of the convention. The convention committees, according to the constitution, should have been appointed by the general officers. Fearing that the Progressive Caucus would not control these committees, the Executive Board decided to appoint the committees by having each member of the Board and each of the general officers appoint one member of each committee. This created a situation where on every committee there was a minority of five supporting the Unity Caucus against 10 supporting the Progressive Caucus. A ruling adopted by the convention was that the report of the majority of the committee could not be amended—but, if rejected, that it go back to the committee; that delegates had no right to make amendments or substitutes for convention committee reports. This technicality was a serious obstacle to the proper expression of the desires of the convention.

A serious division of opinion arose on democracy within the organization. Progressive Caucus members of the constitution committee attempted to curtail democracy and the representation at the convention. This expressed itself in the following way. The Progressive Caucus proposed that at future conventions, each local have one delegate for the first two hundred members, one delegate for the next three hundred members, and one delegate for every additional five hundred members or major fraction thereof. The objective of this was to put down representation from the large locals, some of which embrace as many as 35,000 members. It meant depriving thousands of members of representation at the next convention. The Unity Caucus members of the constitution committee demanded equal representation for the membership regardless of the size of the local union—one delegate for each 100 members. The convention rejected the majority report and finally the committee returned with a report accepting the proposal of the Unity Caucus, which was, for 200 members, one delegate and two votes; for the next 300 members or major fraction thereof, one delegate with three votes; and for the next 500, one delegate with five votes. Each local shall have one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof, but no delegate shall have more than five votes.

The same situation existed on the question of calling of special conventions. The Progressive Caucus attempted to make it very difficult to call a special convention, demanding that 50 per cent of the union membership participate in a referendum to call one. The Unity Caucus proposed that a special convention be called by 25 per cent of the members voting in referendum, and above all opposed the proposition that the delegates to the special convention be the delegates from the regular convention. The Unity proposal was accepted by the convention.

Likewise on the powers of the president. The Progressive Caucus pro-

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posed that power be granted to the President of the union to suspend or remove any officer, including vice-presidents and Board members. The Unity Caucus proposed that the president may suspend but not remove any vice-president or board member, that only the Executive Board may remove a Board member or a vice-president. The proposal of the Unity Caucus was also accepted by the convention.

The Progressive Caucus proposed that there shall be three vice-presidents—first, second and third. The Unity Caucus proposed that there shall be four vice-presidents of equal rank. The convention finally, by mutual agreement, unanimously accepted a proposal of having five vice-presidents without rank.

The convention, by an overwhelming majority, rejected the proposal of the Progressive Caucus to establish control over the local union papers by the International Executive Board. This was an important question because establishing control by the International over these local papers would prevent the locals from expressing their points of view on some of the questions so important to the organization and workers in a given shop. The convention decided that local papers should only be supervised by the International, but not controlled by it.

By mutual agreement the new Board will consist of seventeen members, an increase over the former twelve. Also, it should be noted that while in the past the International officers had no vote but only a voice on the Executive Board, now they have both vote and voice.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

Among the outstanding resolutions adopted at the convention was the one on the organization of Ford's, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS: The United Automobile Workers of America has successfully unionized the greater part of the auto industry, increasing its membership more than ten times in a single year, and

"WHEREAS: The Ford Motor Company is the only outstanding automobile corporation that has not been unionized and yet improvements in working conditions have been won for the workers in the Ford Assembly Plants now organized in Missouri and California; and

"WHEREAS: Most of the employees of the Ford Motor Company, largely because of the terroristic anti-labor policies of the Ford management through strong-arm methods, of its system of stool-pigeons known as 'Service Men' and through propaganda circulated and broadcast by the means at the disposal of a wealthy industry have remained outside of the organized labor movement; and

"WHEREAS: The fact that the Ford workers are not organized retards the progress of the auto workers as a whole in their march toward ever better working conditions; and

"WHEREAS: The Ford Motor Company by its notorious speed-up system, absence of adequate lunch periods, and general policy of planned insecurity, seek to achieve greater production by motivating employees with fear of losing their jobs; and as long as the Ford Motor Company remains open shop it constitutes a threat to the maintaining of union wages and union conditions in General Motors, Chrysler and other automobile manufacturers, and an open shop challenge to the U.A.W.A.; and

"WHEREAS: The Ford Motor Company is flagrantly violating the Wagner Labor Act, which specifically guarantees the right of workers to join together in Unions to bargain collectively with their employees; and

"WHEREAS: The organizing of the Ford workers would make it possible to negotiate an agreement covering the entire auto industry;

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"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Convention support a vigorous and continuous campaign to enroll the one hundred and twenty-five thousand Ford employees;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this convention, in order to organize the workers of the Ford Motor Company, pledges the full financial and moral support of the entire International to the campaign now in progress, in order that by this complete mobilization of all our forces behind this effort, the U.A.W.A. will be able to sign an agreement with the Ford Motor Company by the first of the year;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That in order to make for the most effective use of our forces in the plant that definite department committees and building committees be set up and that the leaders of these committees be elected by employees belonging to the Union in that department or building;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the U.A.W.A. authorize its Ford Organizing Committee to take up special steps to reach the racial, language and cultural groups which the Ford Motor Company has brought into Dearborn and Detroit and has segregated in such a way as to isolate them from contact with other workers and with other working conditions and special organizational efforts must be made to arrange conferences, conduct house-to-house canvasses, utilize posters and radio advertising, schedule parties and picnics, and in other ways convince these special groups among the Ford workers that the Ford Motor Company is not the benevolent employer which they imagine;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That neighborhood and foreign language groups be set up to work in their respective neighborhoods; that we enlist all agencies of support; however, these agencies shall serve in an auxiliary capacity and shall be subordinate to the U.A.W.A. Its decisions shall be subject to the approval of the U.A.W.A.

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That all locals of the U.A.W.A. render all possible assistance in the organization thereof through financial, physical and moral aid;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That in order to implement this decision by building a $400,000 war chest, this Convention authorize a one dollar per member special assessment to meet this extraordinary situation."

Another important resolution, adopted at the convention, was:

"That the Second Annual Convention of the U.A.W.A. assembled in Milwaukee reaffirms the policy of the sit-down strike as a weapon in labor struggle. . . ."

This is of tremendous importance because of the big opposition on the part of the employers and many state governments to the tactics of the sit-down strike.

The convention unanimously voted against unauthorized strikes. The unauthorized strikes which took place in past months in the automobile industry were provoked by the management, through its violation of the agreements or refusal to adjust just grievances of the workers.

The convention unanimously condemned the strike-breaking activities of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, who, according to a telegram which he sent to the convention, advised General Motors *"not to sign an exclusive bargaining contract with the U.A.W.U."*, a treacherous act against the entire labor movement. The convention spoke to Green: ". . . We are thoroughly convinced now that you have allied yourself with Tom Girdler of the steel corporation and his thugs."

The automobile workers, who had gone through the experience of attacks by mobs organized by the employers, adopted the resolution:

"That this convention of the U.A.W.A. go on record against police terror, vigilantes and other armed bands, organized and inspired by the employers in their attempts to crush labor's rights to organize, picket and strike; and that we further go on record demanding this army of armed bands of

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gangsters and murderers be outlawed and disarmed by the city, state and federal government. . . ."

In another resolution, the automobile workers declared:

"That this convention immediately telegraph the members of both houses of the State Legislature throughout this country and both houses of Congress, asking for the enactment of a law prohibiting the hiring by private corporations of private police agencies and the storing of arms and ammunition incidental thereto. . . ."

In line with this, the convention adopted an extremely important resolution dealing with the question of control of the manufacturing of munitions:

". . . Organized labor is generally opposed to wars, and wars are created for profit of the munitions makers; therefore be it

"RESOLVED: That the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, assembled in convention, go on record in support of government control and supervision of all munitions and arms; and be it further

"RESOLVED: That the International Union do all in its power in promoting legislation toward the abolition of private arsenals. . . ."

In harmony with the general spirit of the convention, the U.A.W.U. unanimously demanded the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, donating $10,000 to the Mooney Defense Committee:

The convention also went on record demanding the release of the Scottsboro boys, declaring:

"That this convention calls for the immediate release of the four Scottsboro boys still held in jail, since the evidence at the various trials shows that not one of the boys was guilty of the charges; copies of this resolution to be sent to the Governor of Alabama, to the Alabama Supreme Court, and to the United States Supreme Court."

The convention adopted a proper attitude on the Negro question. In its resolution, it declares:

"The attitude of the American Federation of Labor has been unfriendly to Negroes, which has caused them to view the union movement with suspicion; be it therefore

"RESOLVED: That special efforts be made to bring the Negro auto workers into our ranks by hiring additional Negro organizers and clerical workers who are acquainted with the special problems of the Negro race, so that they may enjoy the benefits of organized labor."

The convention greeted with tremendous enthusiasm the speech of a Negro worker during the discussion on the organization of Ford's. There were twenty-seven Negro delegates at the convention. There were Negro delegates on the three convention committees, indicating that the convention recognized the Negro workers' problem as a special problem.

The convention likewise unanimously went on record demanding the enactment of the American Youth Act, fully recognizing the special position of the youth and its problems.

We can add that the union has developed quite broad educational activities through the means of the publication of a number of useful books, the establishment of a regular union radio hour in Detroit, the establishment and development of broad sports activities, and the establishment of a medical bureau.

The convention instructed all locals in the International to give all possible support to the building of women's auxiliaries. This is of tremendous importance because the women played no small role in the strike struggles in General Motors and Chrysler's: and the organization of women will

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further assist in building the union.

The convention decided to organize office workers employed by the automobile companies, declaring itself in favor of "formation of an Office Workers Division of the International Union." Likewise, it decided to organize the aircraft industry.

Among other important resolutions adopted was the resolution on Social Security, which demands amendments to the present Federal Social Security Act. It states that this act is not adequate and proposes a series of amendments which would really strengthen the security of the workers.

The convention adopted a resolution which declares:

". . . That this Second Convention of the U.A.W.A. reiterates the stand for independent labor political action which evidenced in the first national convention in South Bend, Indiana, in 1936; and be it further

"RESOLVED: That until such time as the able leaders of the C.I.O. definitely decide what, in their opinion, will be the most advantageous political course to steer, the U.A.W.A. will urge its constituent local unions and members to support the policies and candidates of Labor's Non-Partisan League; and be it further

"RESOLVED: That upon pronouncement of the future political course of the C.I.O. by its able leader, John L. Lewis, the U.A.W.A. will make public announcement of our concurrence with such announcement and urge all members to vote and work for the advancement of the party choice of the C.I.O., that political solidarity may be truly established in the ranks of labor."

There were a number of resolutions introduced by the local unions which went on record against fascism and Nazism as subversive movements against the people. Also, resolutions in support of the loyalist Spanish government, against fascist Franco, and the intervention of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Unfortunately, the resolutions committee introduced a "substitute" for all of these resolutions which by no means met the issue, but which was adopted without discussion. That resolution reads:

"That the convention go on record against any organization which employs tactics calculated to disrupt the program and policies of a bona fide labor movement."

This resolution has practically no meaning *whatsoever,* and it is very unfortunate that on this important question of the struggle against fascism and Nazism, for the support of the struggle of the Spanish people, against the war of invasion on the part of bloody Hitler, Mussolini, and their ally, Franco, the convention should not have taken its position four-square in accordance with the definite anti-fascist attitude of the membership.

However, it is necessary to point out that President Martin in his report to the convention definitely and in unmistakable terms condemns fascism and Nazism, and gives support to loyalist Spain:

"What we have been saying leads us to consider the threat of fascism in the world today. We have already mentioned Germany and Italy. Today in Spain a struggle is going on between fascism and the forces of anti-fascism. The outcome is uncertain. Most of the European countries have strong fascist movements. What is labor's answer to the threat of fascism? In my opinion there is only one force which can defeat fascism and that is the force of organized labor itself. There will be no fascism in this country if we continue to build and maintain a strong democratic and well-disciplined labor movement, with a leadership alert to guide the workers according to sound principles."

An anti-Communist resolution, originally introduced by the Toledo

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local No. 12, condemning the Communist Party, was not even brought to the floor of the convention. At this point one can say that there was not a single remark made against Communists during the whole proceedings of the convention. On the contrary, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, made a speech at the convention which can be classified only as that of defense of the Communists' right of membership in the unions, and of their right to participate in the leadership.

President Dubinsky said in part:

". . . We are ready to admit publicly that we have Communists in our ranks; we have them in our union . . . and as long as they will serve the workers, as long as they will serve the organization I will have no quarrel with Communists, though I disagree with their philosophy, because we must make room and encourage activity and loyalty and service from them for the advancement and improvement of the lot of the workers in strengthening our position."

These remarks of President Dubinsky were enthusiastically greeted by the convention.

The convention was addressed by a number of prominent individuals, among them Governor La Follette, Thomas Kennedy, Leo Krzycki, and Mayor Hoan. It received a telegram from President Roosevent, who sent "greetings to the members of the U.A.W.U. and good wishes for a successful convention. . . ."

The outstanding speech of the convention was the address by John L. Lewis (printed in the *Daily Worker,* August 28). The speech placed before the U.A.W.A., and before the labor movement as a whole, the next objectives and tasks. Lewis not only called for the organization of Ford's, but strongly urged independent political action on the part of the people, declaring that labor is on the march. As far as the internal situation in the union, he declared:

"I am for the officers of the U.A.W.A., because I think that they have crowned themselves and your union with glory in the degree of their achievements. I simply say this in passing as an honest tribute where tribute and commendation is due."

This was a definite rebuke for all those elements who attempted to eliminate from the leadership such outstanding builders and leaders of the union as Mortimer, Hall, Addes and Reuther.

THE ELECTION OF OFFICERS

As a result of this speech and the assistance given to the leaders of the convention by the C.I.O. representatives, John Brophy, Ora Gassaway, David Dubinsky, and Ray Edmundson, a mutual agreement was reached by which all the present officers were elected. Richard Frankensteen and R. J. Thomas, president of the Chrysler local in Detroit, were also elected as vice-presidents.

It was probably one of the most dramatic scenes of the convention when a unanimous vote was cast for Homer Martin for President; George F. Addes for Secretary-Treasurer; Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall, Walter Wells, Richard Frankensteen, and R. J. Thomas, for Vice-Presidents.

The convention then proceeded to elect seventeen Board members. The three elected from Ohio were Elsworth Kramer, Richard E. Neisinger, and Paul E. Miley from the Unity Caucus; from Detroit—Walter Reu-

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ther, and Leo Lamotte, both from the Unity Caucus. The other members of the Executive Board were elected from the Progressive Caucus slate, as follows: C. P. Millar of Oshawa, Ontario (Canada to be an independent district within the International Union); Russell J. Merrill of South Bend, Indiana; Fred Pieper of Georgia (Michael Gello, of the Unity Group, was actually elected by a majority of the votes of the Southern District, but he was disqualified because of his not being one year in the union); Delmont Garst of St. Louis; Frank Tucci, Tarrytown, N. Y.; Irving Carey, Los Angeles; F. J. Michael, Racine, Wisc.; Charles Madden of Pontiac, Mich.; Tracy Doll of Detroit; Loren Houser of Detroit; Lester Washburn of Lansing, Mich; and Morris Field of Detroit.

The present composition of the Board and officers is as follows: sixteen from the Progressive Caucus and eight from the Unity Caucus.

The biggest struggle for the election of Board members took place in the Michigan delegation, where the votes were so close that an additional sixteen votes would have elected six out of seven Board members from the Unity slate.

On the last day of the convention, a sharp struggle took place on the question of seating eight delegates from Flint who by all rights should have been seated. If their vote had been taken it would have meant a Board member from Flint (at present unrepresented on the Board). But the Progressive Caucus forces were determined to prevent the seating of the eight delegates because they were for the Unity Caucus and succeeded in doing so, adding eight votes to fifteen delegates from Fisher No. 1 (Flint) who were staunch supporters of the Progressive Caucus.

THE UNITY CAUCUS DEMONSTRATES ITS CONCERN FOR UNITY

The Unity leaders, particularly Mortimer, Addes and Reuther, displayed outstanding statemanship and leadership, and placed the interest of unity above everything else. At the most crucial moment, when a fight over the ruling might have developed on the floor, they made a plea, after registering their protest, for the convention to accept the ruling of President Martin, that there be no change in the vote of the Michigan delegation, in the interest of unity. This was accepted with tremendous enthusiasm, which overshadowed anything that happened during the period of the convention and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Unity Caucus leaders.

The newly-elected officers and Executive Board are far broader in representation; they include many outstanding builders of the union (although a number of people should have been on the Board who were not elected). It therefore strengthens the position of the union. And if the factional lines that existed up to the convention will be eliminated, the present leadership can win complete cooperation and support of the entire union, and thus forge ahead to fulfill the decision of the convention.

The desire for unity was so pronounced that an appeal of a rank-and-file delegate to remove the insignia of both Progressive and Unity Caucuses from their coats was carried

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spontaneously by every delegate in the convenion hall. President Martin concluded his report to the convention with the appeal:

"Leave factionalism behind. If each one of us will pledge himself to do this and to accept wholeheartedly the decisions and mandates of this convention, we will have gained a great achievement, one which will benefit all the workers of this country."

We hope that this will not only apply to each and every member of the organization, but to the Executive Board and to President Martin himself.

THE TASKS OF THE INCOMING LEADERSHIP

What is the mandate of the convention? To organize Ford's, to secure sole collective bargaining in all General Motors plants in the United States and Canada, to complete the organizational drive in the auto parts plants, to organize the aircraft workers, to organize the office workers in the automobile industry, to draw Negro workers into active leadership, to build and extend women's auxiliaries, to organize political action of the people, and to develop the struggle against fascism and vigilantism. To accomplish this, unity is essential. Therefore the consolidation of the union can be based upon the whole character of the convention by means of eliminating factionalism within the organization. This is the mandate of the convention!

Much depends upon the attitude of the former Progressive Caucus leaders. There is no question that if there will be no interference on the part of the pernicious outside forces headed by Jay Lovestone, a normal development will take place.

If any support is given to the union-splitting slogan raised by the Lovestonites that "A good internal fight is always healthy for the union," it will be very dangerous for the further development of this growing militant union. That is exactly what the manufacturers and every enemy of labor are desiring. That is why the capitalist press, months before the convention, attempted to create the impression of the possibility of a split. It is only thanks to the persistence and policies of the Unity Caucus leadership that all the hopes of the enemies of the automobile workers and the working class as a whole did not materialize.

The Communist Party can be proud of its record in the building of the union and at the convention itself. The Communist Party members, who are members of the U.A.W.A., were among the outstanding builders and organizers of the union. They played no small role in bringing about unity within the organization. They proved to the convention as a whole that they have no other interest than the interest of the automobile workers and the working class, as Communists have no other interests except those of the working class.

It must be finally added that the progress made by the union is also the result of a splendid united front that existed between the members of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party who are members of the U.A.W.A., which brought about unification of the most advanced section of the workers, and united them on a program of unity and building the organization.

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AS REGARDS UNAUTHORIZED STRIKES

This article cannot be concluded without re-stating problems which were the issues before and at the convention proper. The Communist Party members who are members of the Automobile Workers Union always stood and stand today for the policy of the Communist Party against unauthorized strikes, for a disciplined, militant, and democratic organization. The discipline within the organization is evidence of the maturity of the organization; and if there were unauthorized strikes, the responsibility surely does not rest with the Communists nor with the leaders of the Unity Caucus. On the contrary, it is an established fact that all the leaders of the Unity Caucus—Mortimer, Hall, Travis, Walter Reuther, John Anderson, Reissinger, Mazey, and scores of others, determinedly opposed unauthorized strikes. The unauthorized strikes in most cases were the result of provocation on the part of the management of the respective factories, who violated contracts and refused to adjust even small grievances, which resulted in this broad spontaneous action of the workers. Even President Martin, in his official press declaration of April 12, 1937, declared:

"Statements in the press recently that International officers of the United Automobile Workers of America feel that responsibility of the sit-downs rests upon the local organizers and representatives have no basis. In fact, practically all of the sit-downs that have occurred have been traceable certainly as much to the local plant management as to any representative or member of the union!"

But there *were* unauthorized strikes. We refer particularly to the general strike called at midnight in Lansing, Michigan. *There was no cause for that general strike.* That strike which, at the moment, played into the hands of the reactionaries of the state and nationally, was caused by the Lovestonites, because it so happens that a Lovestonite is in charge of the Lansing organization of the U.A.W.A. If anyone wants to look for the unauthorized strikes where there was no cause for it, Lansing is the place. We believe that the union, fighting for the best possible contract with the employers, once a contract has been agreed upon and accepted, should live up to it and see to it that the contract is fully enforced, that is, that the employers live up to their end of the agreement. We believe in responsible organization and responsible leadership: and there were instances of irresponsibility, as we pointed out in connection with the Lansing event.

The reactionary elements within the U.A.W.A. raised the cry of "outside control," which supposedly meant the Communist Party. We repeat here our position as stated on a number of occasions, that the Communist Party as such, and its members, desire no control of the U.A.W.A. or any other organization. We, however, definitely believe in and stand for the equal rights of Communists with any other member within the union, regardless of political affiliation, in the leadership of the organization.

But if one wants to look for real "outside control," one can easily find that there is such a situation—we refer here again to the group of destroyers in the labor movement known as Lovestoneites. This group has no

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foothold in the automobile industry. They had only six delegates among over 1,100 at the Milwaukee convention. Yet they exercised some influence in the affairs of the international union in that they secured appointive positions within the union and utilized these positions for their destructive factional work, lining themselves up with the most reactionary elements within the organization, constantly provoking dissension, distrust, and hatred among the members of the organization, since only through these methods can they maintain, at least temporarily, some of their positions.

Lovestoneites are not only renegades from Communism; they stand exposed as the enemies of the best interests of the workers and the people as a whole. They support, not only in the United States, but internationally, the enemies of the people. Suffice it to point out the position of the Lovestoneites in regard to Spain where they support the agents of the bloody Franco-Hitler-Mussolini alliance, by supporting the notorious Trotskyite outfit known as the P.O.U.M., which carries on its provocative work behind the trenches in Loyalist Spain. They fight against the People's Front; they fight against the unity of the labor movement; they fight against unity within the U.A.W.A., because they know only too well that only through these means, by confusing issues, by creating distrust, by attaching themselves to the most unscrupulous elements, can they play some role—a role not in the interests of the people, of the workers, of democracy, but in the interests of the employing class, in the interests of reaction. The U.A.W.A. convention showed clearly where the Lovestoneites stand. They stand exposed as the enemies of the automobile workers, as the enemies of the working class. They pretend to play their role in the name of "Communism." One can only comment that Hitler established his fascist dictatorship in the name of "National-Socialism"!

The U.A.W.A. convention has proved in which direction the growing industrial unions can go. *At that convention we saw the birth of the American working class moving as a class,* of which our great teacher, Friedrich Engels, said:

> "The great thing is to get the working class to move as a *class*: that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, for all who resist . . . will be left out in the cold with the small sects of their own."

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THE NEW SOVIET ELECTORAL LAW

BY LEON JOSEPHSON

THE New Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law* are the most democratic in the world! A simple comparison of the New Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law with the American Constitution and the American electoral system, or with the constitutions and electoral law of any other country, conclusively proves the correctness of this statement.

The real basis for the fundamental differences between Soviet law and American law lies in the differences in the prevailing conditions existing in these countries. The new Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law express and reflect the conditions of existence prevailing in a socialist society. It grants to the people engaged in collectivized socialist economy the broadest democratic rights so that they may determine how the productive forces collectively owned and managed by them, and the socialist state erected on this socialist foundation, shall be conducted.

American law sanctions the conditions of existence in a bourgeois democracy. The legal sanction of the economic and political concessions, wrested from the ruling class by long struggles of the working masses, constitutes the democratic rights and liberties of the working masses in capitalist society. The right to a voice in governmental affairs, the right to organize, to strike, to picket, to demonstrate, etc., have been won by the working masses only after long, difficult and bitter struggles.

These democratic rights are in turn the springboard, the basis from which the workers can still win new conditions of existence for themselves, which they can force to be legalized and to constitute new democratic liberties. Thus, while the Communist Party fights for the establishment of a socialist state, for the conditions upon which, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, genuine democracy can function, it fights, at the same time, for the preservation and extension of the democratic rights of the toiling masses in a bourgeois democracy. There are no interests of the working masses which do not concern the Communist Party and for which it does not fight! Therefore, even though democracy under capitalism is necessarily limited, it does represent the victories of the toiling masses; it is a means for defeating reaction; it constitutes a basis and an instrument for advancing the conditions of existence of the working masses, and for effectively establishing the political

* Approved by the Fourth Session of the Seventh Convention of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., July 9, 1937.

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and economic organizations of the working masses. There is no contradiction between the efforts of the Communist Party to establish a socialist state and socialist democracy and at the same time fighting to maintain and extend bourgeois democracy. Nor is there any contradiction between the policy of fighting for the retention and advancement of bourgeois democracy and at the same time showing its limited character, comparing it with the vastly superior Soviet democracy.

What is the test for determining whether or not a constitution and electoral law is truly democratic. Such a constitution and electoral law should be flexible and easy to amend. It should enable the majority of the people really to rule; it should not be an instrument for thwarting the will of the people. A truly democratic constitution and electoral law should establish the rules whereby the majority of the people can select and then have control over their representatives. Unless the majority of the people possess the actual and legal means whereby they can exercise their sovereign will and select representatives who really act for them, popular government exists in name only.

All bourgeois-democratic constitutions and electoral law reflect the class antagonisms and class struggles prevailing in capitalist society. Side by side with the legal sanction of democratic rights for the people, we see restrictions and limitations designed to thwart the rule of the people. These are to be found in the "checks and balances" set up in the Constitution, in the limitations and restrictions set up in the electoral law, in the general limitations and restrictions to be found in the general conditions of existence prevailing in capitalist society. It is obvious that capitalist rule could not last very long under conditions of unrestricted democracy.

Capitalist society rests upon class antagonisms (without the exploitation of wage-labor there could be no private industry), antagonisms which grow sharper with the decline and general crisis of capitalism, with the growth of the political and economic organizations of the working masses. Hence the capitalist necessity for new laws or "regulations" of the class antagonisms, for ever harsher, stronger laws, for new restrictions and limitations directed against the people—and to the complete suppression of every vestige of democracy: the barbaric terrorist dictatorship of fascism. Today, the class antagonisms have developed to the point where the struggle to maintain the legal sanction of the democratic rights and liberties which the toiling masses have gained as a result of centuries of continuous efforts, the struggle to maintain and possibly enlarge these democratic rights through the People's Front against fascism and reaction is an immediate struggle of the utmost importance.

The proletariat in power does not enslave any other class in society. In revolutionary alliance with the peasantry, it proceeds to abolish completely the basis for class antagonisms by establishing socialist production in city and village. As socialist society develops, the former capitalist elements are increasingly absorbed into socialist production. Classes and class antagonisms disappear. The need for

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the "regulation" of class antagonisms finally disappears altogether, "withers away." Soviet law becomes ever broader and more democratic until, with the complete disappearance of the last remnants of all hostile elements and classes, with the complete disappearance of all surrounding hostile capitalist states, the need for rules or laws "regulating" the rights and liberties of the socialist society becomes unnecessary. And the highest democracy merges into the conditions of a full, free communist society.

The new Soviet Constitution and now the Electoral law reflect the present stage of development and express the new conditions and social relations resulting from the establishment of socialism in the U.S.S.R. In the twenty years of victorious Soviet power, capitalism has completely disappeared from industry, agriculture, and trade. Socialist property is the possession of the entire people. Collective forms of economy have conquered finally and irrevocably in the villages as well as in the cities and towns. Classes, that is economic classes, playing a certain role and bearing a certain economic and social relationship to each other in production, have disappeared.

The new Soviet Constitution, the triumph of the Soviet people, bears the name, *the Stalinist Constitution,* as a tribute and attestation that the epic achievements which made possible this Socialist Magna Charta have been accomplished through the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory and devotion exemplified and embodied in the great leader of all oppressed humanity, Comrade Stalin. The successful building of socialism in a land encircled by imperialist foes and still containing restorationist elements was possible only because of the staunch Bolshevik leadership which defeated the hidden conspiracies of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and the Zinovievites—now sunk to the morass of fascist agents—who tried to discourage and stand in the way of socialist construction and subsequently endeavored to betray and dismember the socialist fatherland with the military aid of the fascist war incendiaries. Comrade Stalin symbolizes for the workers in the capitalist world the indispensable leadership of the Party in the struggle for the extension of democracy under capitalism and the realization of the highest proletarian democracy through Soviet power.

The working class has achieved success not only in transforming the face of the entire country, but in transforming itself. The peasant masses, guided by their ally, the proletariat, have also undergone profound changes in the course of their decisive historic advance which liquidated kulakism and constructed socialist, collective agriculture. The Soviet intellectuals are socialist intellectuals who have come up from the working class and the peasantry and are closely connected with them. In view of the sum total of economic processes, the borderlines between classes have been obliterated. The restrictions formerly directed against certain hostile classes are no longer necessary. The rights formerly reserved for the working class and its allies are declared to be the rights for all and "are guaranteed in conformity

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with the interests of the toilers, and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system" (*Article 125*).* Full and unrestricted democratic freedom and rights for the entire population engaged in socialist production prevail—a guarantee that logically must exclude "freedom" to any remaining irreconcilable enemies of socialism—Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits and other agents of fascism, who seek to destroy, with foreign imperialist aid, the socialist basis of Soviet democracy. The economic basis already established in the Soviet Union, embracing the life of the entire population, has established a solid foundation upon which genuine democracy, *i.e.*, the unlimited rule of the people based upon the greatest good for the toiling population, upon the principle of socialist economy, can and does prevail.

The new Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law take from the bourgeois-democratic constitutions and laws all that is positive and progressive in them. The many-stage elections disappear. The highest organs of power are elected directly by the people. There are no checks or balance established to thwart the rule of the people. Voting is made universal (*Article 135*), equal (*Article 136*), direct (*Article 139*), and secret (*Article 140*).

The check on the representatives of the people by a conservative "upper" house selected on a basis different from that of the "lower" house, the check of a president having the veto power to override the elected representatives of the people, the check of a judiciary appointed for life with power to void the acts of the representatives of the people, are all absent from the Soviet Constitution. The acts of the majority of the Supreme Council, directly elected by the people and responsible to them, are law. There is no need to protect a minority class owning the means of production, and therefore there is no check in the Soviet Constitution requiring that amendments receive a two-thirds vote in Congress and the ratification of three-fourths of the states. The checks and balances limiting the full democratic rights of the people in order to "protect" the rights of a minority propertied class are all absent from the new Soviet Constitution. The people, engaged in constructing and developing socialist industry in order to produce the means whereby they can raise their own physical and cultural well-being, are the best judges to determine what is or what is not for their general welfare. And this is the reason for the unrestricted, unchecked democratic rights established in the Soviet Constitution.

THE NEW SOVIET ELECTORAL LAW

The new Soviet Electoral Law adopted on July 9, 1937, furthers the genuine democratic principles expressed in the new Constitution. The new Electoral Law is truly democratic because no barriers whatever are set up to prohibit the rule of the majority of the people, because the means by which the people choose their representatives are guaranteed to them. The Soviet Electoral Law not only

* All quotations from the Soviet Constitution are from *The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, New York, International Publishers. 10 cents—Ed.

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grants electoral rights to its citizens, but it creates all the necessary conditions enabling them to realize this right in practice and to participate actively in the elections. The Soviet Electoral Law not only grants the people the right to vote, but it establishes the means by which the people may *rule*. With these basic differences in the conditions of existence in a socialist society and the conditions of existence in a capitalist society in mind, let us briefly compare the American electoral system with the Soviet Electoral Law:

U. S. limitation versus Soviet enfranchisement of the youth. All citizens of the Soviet Union over the age of 18 years have the right to vote and are eligible to hold any office. (*Article 8*). In the United States the youth of the land between the ages of 18 and 21 are excluded from voting or holding office. Still other restrictions are placed upon the youth, and the required age for a Congressman is 25, for a Senator 30, for the President 35.

U. S. limitations established by residential qualifications. The capitalist and petty-bourgeois classes have their roots struck deep in the places of their businesses or professions. But large numbers of workers are continually forced to move to other places in their search for employment. Other large sections of the working class are migratory workers, workers in seasonal industries who move with the seasons. The residential requirements of the American electoral laws automatically eliminate large numbers of workers from voting. In New Jersey, for example, the residential requirements are one year's residence in the state and five months' residence in the county in which the vote is cast. (*N. J. Constitution, Article 11.*)

The Soviet Electoral Law requires no residential qualifications. A citizen who has changed his place of residence is entitled to vote on a "certificate of the right to vote" issued to him by the Soviet of Toilers' Deputies in his previous place of residence. (*Article 15.*)

Other U. S. limitations on workers. The necessary qualifications for the right to vote is left by the U. S. Constitution to the several states. Every state in the U. S. had a money or land qualification and these qualifications existed in some states until after the Civil War. Property qualifications have been abolished, but other limitations have been established, limitations which to persons who have never associated with the working masses may seem petty, but which are nevertheless real and effective.

In many states the payment of poll taxes still obtains, and a worker must show his receipted bill before he is allowed to vote. In the South, literacy qualifications, not considering the intimidation of Negroes, disfranchise an estimated two million black and white workers.

The Soviet Electoral Law grants the right to vote to every citizen without limitation. Only those who have been adjudged insane or convicted of a crime are prohibited from voting.

U. S. limitation versus Soviet enfranchisement of the army. In the U. S. the army is not permitted to vote (*N. J. Constitution, Article 2*). Every state constitution carries a similar restriction. The theory is that political enlightenment and interest are equivalent to the destruction of

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military discipline. But political entanglement increases the efficiency and morale of the people's Red Army. Hence, the difference in Soviet law.

U. S. disfranchisement of the Negro versus the Soviet enfranchisement of the former subject peoples. The Soviet Constitution grants full equal suffrage to the people of the various autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. And the new Soviet Electoral Law establishes the basis whereby full equal suffrage can be achieved. Elections are held in the language of the various races and nationalities, and are conducted by their own electoral comissions *(Article 68).*

The new Constitution carries out this democratic principle and grants the right of self-determination to all the peoples in the Soviet Union, even to the point of separation and secession *(Article 17).*

The American Constitution (13th, 14th, 15th Amendments) grants full, equal rights to the Negro. But the Southern landlords and capitalists openly deny the right of suffrage and equal civil rights to the Negro, and by terror keep the Negro away from the polls, deny him the right to sit on juries, place him under lynch-law, and subject him to a thousand Jim-Crow indignities.

U. S. limitations versus Soviet time and hours of election. The Soviet Electoral Law provides that elections shall be held on a non-working day from six o'clock in the morning until midnight *(Articles 75 and 89).* Compare this with the American elections, almost always held on a Tuesday, a working day. The polls usually close at six or seven o'clock and millions of workers are prevented from voting. Is it any wonder that even in Presidential years only approximately sixty per cent of the citizens cast their ballot?

U. S. limitations versus Soviet possibilities of becoming a candidate. The American electoral law is such that almost insurmountable difficulties are placed in the way of becoming a candidate for office. Unless nominated by a recognized political party (in New York state it is necessary to poll 50,000 votes to be recognized as an official party), a candidate must circulate a petition and obtain the required number of signers [in New Jersey, for example, two per cent of the entire vote cast *(Par. 114, Sec. 5, Election Laws)*]. And at the last moment many petitions are thrown out by the boss-controlled elections commissions or state officials because of some alleged technicality, or the striking out of certain "signers." It is no wonder then, that the nominating of candidates is for the most part a monopoly reserved to two political parties, both of which political machines are controlled by the capitalist class.

But the masses are able to challenge this monopoly, using as a base for advance their already won democratic rights. At present in the United States, under the blows of the general crisis and the upsurge of the working class, the classic bourgeois two-party system is disintegrating. The reactionary, fascist-minded forces in both parties are uniting into a bloc, while the progressive and labor forces are increasingly gathering into that mighty People's Front which is indispensable for successfully challenging reaction and for defending democracy and progress.

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The Soviet Electoral Law grants the right to nominate candidates to any public organizations, general meetings of workers and office employees, general meetings of peasants in collective farms, etc. *(Article 57).* A resolution passed by the meeting when filed with the District Election Commission is sufficient to register a candidate *(Article 63).* Refusal to register is appealable to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in two days *(Article 64).*

U. S. versus Soviet Electoral Commissions. The American electoral commissions are appointed by the party in power. They are composed of petty party politicians, by party "ward-heelers." "The people vote but we count the ballots" is the cynical attitude of Tammany, the Hague machine in New Jersey and similar political machines in every state in the United States. It is safe to say that a large proportion of the votes cast for the Communist Party candidates are never counted.

The Soviet Electoral Law, in order to assure the people's control of the elections, specifically prohibits the Soviets from appointing electoral commissions. The law provides that such commissions are to be chosen from the various societies of the workers and peasants who do the nominating *(Articles 85 and 99).*

General U. S. limitations versus Soviet guarantees. Even if workers nominate candidates, the existence of capitalist conditions make a successful campaign difficult. The purely capitalist organization of the press, the radio, the ownership of halls, the inability of the workers to raise sufficient funds, etc., place many limitations on the workers. The contest is not and cannot be an "equal" one. Lenin sized up the real situation in bourgeois democracies. He said:

> "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere in the so-called 'petty' . . . details of the suffrage (residential qualification, exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for 'beggars'), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc.—on all sides we see restrictions after restrictions of democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has himself never known want, and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine hundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this class), but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics and from an active share in democracy."*

The New Constitution and Electoral Law have been founded on a new principle, on a socialist principle, on the collective ownership of the means of production. On the basis of this principle, the new Constitution and Electoral Law do not confine themselves to abstract proclamations of the "rights of man." The state has control of the means whereby the "rights of man" can be realized. The new Soviet Electoral Law therefore centers its attention on the material requirements of real, living persons. It guarantees to each public organization and society of toilers nominating candidates, likewise to each citizen of the U.S.S.R., the right and actual

* Lenin, *State and Revolution,* p. 192. International Publishers, New York.

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possibility of campaigning for his or their candidate at meetings, in the press, and by other methods indicated in Article 125 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which reads as follows:

"In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:

"a. Freedom of speech;

"b. Freedom of the press;

"c. Freedom of assembly and of holding mass meetings;

"d. Freedom of steeet processions and demonstrations.

"These rights of the citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communications and other material requisites necessary for the exercise of these rights."

Bourgeois and liberal critics may sneer at the Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law and ask: "What reason is there to believe that the Soviet legal guarantees have any greater meaning than the Constitutional guarantees in bourgeois countries?" The answer is that the stated technical, economic, and social facilities are actually placed at the disposal of the people. Further, the conditions of a socialist society not only make the broadest kind of democracy possible, but *necessary*. The complete unrestricted enfranchisement of the entire people engaged in socialist production, taking an active part in the life of the country, freed from the narrow limits of capitalist exploitation, and vitally interested in everyday economic and social problems, is the best guarantee that the Soviet people, guided by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and by the Soviet government, will use their democratic rights in order to advance to further victories of Communism. The legal and constitutional guarantees establishing the means whereby the people can really rule *will be* carried out because the fulfilment of these guarantees means the continued existence and further advance of Soviet socialist society; the continued improvement in the living conditions of the people; the triumphant process of establishing a classless Communist society. The law of the Soviet Union, which reflects and sanctions the conditions existing in a socialist society, a society marked by the collective ownership and management of the means of production, necessarily sanctions the unrestricted rule of the people as a natural corollary of the prevailing economic conditions.

Capitalist economy can only continue by the continued exploitation of the people and, therefore, by the continued political subjection of the people, by constitutional and electoral law limitations, by the restriction —if not by fascist extinction—of democratic rights and liberties.

But even these restricted democratic rights, which have been wrested from the ruling class after long continued struggles, can be used by the people for the further extension of their democratic liberties, for the welfare of the workers, farmers, professionals, and small business men, for the further development of the economic, political and social organizations of the working class and its allies. They can be used as a basis for building the People's Front against fascism and war, keeping alive the great progressive and revolutionary heritage of the masses in their struggle for progress. Especially is this necessary today when

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the fascist-minded and reactionaries, feeling their position insecure, attempt to destroy the democratic rights of the people.

A simple analysis and comparison of the Stalinist Constitution and Electoral Law, which reflect the conditions of existence in a socialist society, with the American Constitution and the electoral laws, which reflect the conditions of existence in a capitalist society, prove conclusively that the Soviet Constitution and Electoral Law are the most democratic in the world.

In this period of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the workers' fatherland, the Stalinist Constitution serves to guide and inspire us, the American people, to advance in a mighty nationwide People's Front against reaction, fascism, and the warmakers, to gather strength and fortitude from our own revolutionary traditions in our fight for safeguarding and enlarging our hard-won democratic rights, in our fight for peace. On this occasion of the celebration of twenty years of Soviet power, the magnificent Constitution of the U.S.S.R. lights up for the American working masses the road that they, too, under the leadership of the Communist Party, must follow to defeat and end for all time crises, unemployment, reaction, and war—the road to Soviet America and its socialist constitution.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT RECRUITING DRIVE FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY

BY FRED BROWN

THE two-month recruiting drive launched by our Party is of special significance, not only for the growth of our Party, but for the whole course of the development and progress of our country. Its aim is to strengthen our ranks with thousands of new members. At the same time it is a test of the possibilities and the ability of our Party to root itself deeply among the organized masses.

The preparations and the beginnings to date indicate that the drive will be a success, despite its short duration. This is due primarily to the objective conditions in the labor movement, to the awakening of the American toiling masses to the consciousness of their power, and to the growing understanding reached by the membership of our Party as to the necessity of the drive for building a mass Party capable of coping with the new developments, with the needs of the laboring people.

GREATER CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RECRUITING

The history of the growth of our Party shows that the recruiting drives conducted in the past have not given the best results. This was due either to lack of preparations and correlation, or to the fact that the lower organizations of the Party were not sufficiently prepared to accept, develop, and retain the new recruits. The present drive has the advantage over the past ones in that the Party has accumulated a treasury of experiences on recruiting and is better coordinated by a special apparatus that is conducting the campaign from top to bottom. Furthermore, the drive is better connected with the daily activities of the Party and its campaigns. The outstanding advantage, however, is the political understanding of the significance of such a drive not only by the leading committees of the Party, but by the lower organizations and by the individual members, who today are connected with masses of organized workers. The best proof of this preparedness and understanding was given by the splendid Party-wide discussion of the last Central Committee plenum decision, and by the special regional conferences that took place in Chicago, New York, Minneapolis, Denver and Chattanooga.

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The outstanding feature of these conferences was the thorough discussion on the common problems that the Party faces in the various states and in connection with building the Party and with the development of the labor movement and the building of a broad front of progressive forces. In all these conferences, it was encouraging to hear the voice of the representatives of the units, of the fractions, of the comrades active in the trade unions. It was the voice of the determination of the units to plunge into the recruiting drive with enthusiasm—an enthusiasm that grows out of a profound political understanding of the needs of building our Party into a mass Party.

The conferences not only discussed how best to mobilize the units and the individual Party members, the methods to be applied, and the political approach to the masses, but also measures to improve the inner-life of the lower organizations for the purpose of retaining the new members and, in this way, to reduce the fluctuation in our ranks. The conferences proved that our Party realizes that a successful drive requires not only the mobilization of the Party to reach the potential Communists, but special organizational measures for the reduction in fluctuation which in the past, to some extent, lessened the results obtained in previous drives.

REDUCING FLUCTUATION

The membership realizes that at this time it is necessary to make the utmost efforts to eliminate the discrepancies between the steadily growing influence of our Party among the broadest masses and its slow organizational growth due in large part to fluctuation. For a long time the problem of the high rate of fluctuation occupied our attention. This problem has been studied in detail. The causes were investigated and remedies proposed. It has become evident that the inability to retain all the new members, or a large percentage of them, was bound up with the poor political life of the lower organizations, with the lack of proper education of the new members, and, in general, the lack of education and political discussions of the main problems facing the Party everywhere. These, however, are not the only reasons. The high rate of fluctuation has been also a product of weaknesses in the organizational apparatus and in the organizational functioning of the units.

In the last period the leading cadres have become more and more conscious of the necessity of solving this vital problem. In line with the decision of the Ninth Party Convention a series of measures were adopted for the purpose of increasing recruiting and, at the same time, keeping the new members in our ranks. Membership committees were established; a yearly control was introduced; and steps were taken to train the leading comrades of the units, to make the unit bureaus more efficient leading bodies. Yet, in spite of the emphasis placed on the importance of all the organizational measures decided upon by the convention, by the plenums following it, and at the special organizational conference, the problem of improving the life of the units politically and organizationally, is still confronting us. How can we explain the contradiction of the grow-

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ing understanding of this problem and the fact that the growth of the Party is not in proportion to the steady increase of its influence among broad masses, especially among the workers in the basic industries?

The reason is clear. The Ninth Convention of our Party, on the basis of a long period of experimentation, carried through a thorough reorganization of the Party structure. Its aim was to adapt the organization to the new conditions which have arisen in the country, to the new needs of the masses. But the deep-going reorganization was not properly guided. Such a reorganization required the utmost attention of the leading committees. It required the assignment of the best forces to sections and units to raise the understanding of the membership to the political significance of the changes, to orientate the units toward their new political tasks. The reorganization, however, was carried through more or less without proper daily supervision and follow-up. This was due in a large measure to the fact that precisely at this time the powerful organizational drive in the basic industries was gaining momentum. The best forces were thrown into the trade union organizational drive. The leading Party committees were occupied for many months with the important problems pertaining to this drive, with legislative problems, and the building of united front movements. The Party was faced with a new situation, with tremendous political tasks, but only a part of it was prepared to cope with this situation.

The leading committees which were able to make a sharp turn, to grasp the significance of the line laid down by the Ninth Party Convention, of the new developments in the country, and accordingly develop new political vitality, did not see, sufficiently, however, that exactly at this moment the raising of the understanding of the entire Party to the new tasks was required to take the fullest advantage of the objective conditions.

The main organizational problem before the Party at that moment was the strengthening of the leading committees and, in many cases, the replacement of the leading forces absorbed by the trade union drive and by the activities in the united front movements, with new elements from among the most promising forces in our ranks. This lack of alertness was not due so much to the preoccupation of the leading forces with the political problems arising nationally and locally but, to some extent, to lack of clarity on the role of the Party organization, to insufficient consciousness of the profound change from the period of acute unemployment to the period of a powerful drive in the trade union field, and, to a certain degree, to the lack of faith in the ability of many of the promising comrades in the lower organizations.

WEAKNESSES IN LOWER ORGANIZATIONS

What was the result of this lack of foresight? On the one hand, through the activities of its best forces, the Party achieved real results; it has become one of the recognized factors in building the powerful C.I.O. unions; it has succeeded in establishing its "citizenship"; it has made itself felt in the political life of the various states; and has become one of the driving forces in the creation of united

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front movements, in the initiation of various legislative measures, in the campaign to aid democratic Spain. On the other hand, the shop units, industrial units, branches—the organizations through which the Party connects itself with the broad masses—were weak in initiative and independent activities, because they were left without the proper attention and guidance of the leading committees.

In certain places the lower organizations were not even involved in the trade union organizational drive. While thousands of Communists, individually, were doing splendid work under the direct guidance of the leading committee, the work of the Party as a whole could not be appreciated by the masses. The Party was not sufficiently seen by the workers as an organization. Even in places where the units were active in developing various activities in support of the strike, these activities were not sufficiently felt by the masses.

During the early period of the organizational drive in the basic industries there were few units which took the initiative of issuing literature and shop papers, many not only failing to present to the workers the position of the Party, but failing to make known their support. Recruiting was done by the most active comrades, but there was no intensive recruiting through the units.

From the foregoing it would be wrong to conclude that the Party did not move forward in this period. The Party made real headway. We have cause to be proud of our strong, sincere support of the C.I.O. drive, of being the driving force in the campaign to aid democratic Spain, of our role in the struggle against the reactionary forces at home. Organizational gains were also made. Splendid elements that came forward in the struggle joined our ranks. Had the Party, however, better activized the units, it would have been able to mobilize many more forces in effective support of the recent mass struggles and drives, and build up its ranks with thousands of new members.

Today, these past weaknesses are not only recognized by the leading forces, but a healthier attitude prevails in the lower organizations, especially among the Party members active in the trade unions, mass organizations, and in united front committees. The entire Party understands that the strengthening of the labor movement as a whole, the course of the development of the struggle against reaction, the unification of the progressive forces of the country, depend a great deal on the strength and the ability of our Party. At this time, not only the units, but the individual Party members who, in the recent period have been able to connect themselves with large organized masses, see the tremendous possibilities and the value of recruiting into our ranks the thousands of workers, farmers, Negroes, and women, who have abandoned their prejudices and who are becoming sympathetic.

This short-term recruiting drive is very timely because of the ripeness of the situation and because its necessity is felt and understood. The November Congress of Party Builders, at which the most active Party members in the recruiting drive will gather to report on the gains made, on the methods employed in the drive, and

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to interchange experiences, will become the point of departure for the intensification of recruiting as part of the daily activities of the Party.

CONCENTRATION ON THE BASIC INDUSTRIES

During the short time that separates us from the Congress, our main task is to concentrate especially among the workers in the basic industries. Today, this concentration is much easier than in the past. A few years ago, when we spoke about concentration, we meant a specific place, a specific industry. In order to make inroads among the masses it was often necessary to make contacts from outside and conduct lengthy preparations. Today the situation is more favorable. Tens of thousands of Party members are directly connected with millions of organized workers. And, what further increases our possibilities is that larger and larger masses express appreciation for the work of the Party, for the efforts of the Communists, and that many of the prejudices against us are disappearing. These masses see more and more clearly that our Party has their interests, their welfare, at heart, that the Communists have no interests separate from those of the toiling people.

Today it is not a difficult task for the units, fractions and individual Party members to approach their fellow workers in the shops and trade unions and to talk to them frankly, not only about the Party position on the immediate problems facing the toiling people of our country, but on our full program, our ultimate aims. Today, we must make clear to the masses what a strong Communist Party means for the labor movement and for the future of humanity.

The latest struggle in the automobile, steel, and other basic industries, the enthusiasm with which masses are entering the industrial unions, have proved that the American working class has made great strides forward and is awakening to class consciousness. Labor as a whole feels the necessity of becoming a more determined political factor in the life of the country. Among these masses there are thousands and thousands who have been steeled by the recent struggles and organizational drives. They have learned a great deal; they are able to see ahead and visualize the future political role of labor. These are the potential Communists out of whom our Party must further be built up. These are the fresh forces growing out of the class struggle in the last period —forces that are bound with the life and hopes of millions. No efforts must be spared to win these forces, to make clear to them that the doors of our Party are open to them, that the ranks of our Party is their natural place, that they belong in the vanguard of the American working class. That these masses are ripening politically is evident also in the fact that the organized masses do not confine themselves purely to the building of the unions, but are already passing over the wider forms of struggle, such as campaigns against the high cost of living and exorbitant rents. They understand more and more that the trade unions, the labor organizations, must become the bulwark in the struggle for the preservation and extension of democracy. The most advanced understand that the

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working class cannot be bound merely by local, state and national ties, but that, in order to secure the maximum effectiveness, the closest international ties must be established.

These facts, again, demand that our Party, while entrenching itself among the organized masses, especially among the masses of the basic industries, make clear the distinction between the program and role of the trade unions and the ultimate aim of the Party. We must make clear to them that the Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, sees ahead; we must convince them of the necessity of strengthening the vanguard whose role it is to lead the toiling people onto the road to a new society, to freedom from exploitation, to real democracy.

Another phase to be kept in mind is how to win and organize into our ranks the tens of thousands of workers, professionals, and farmers, who have sympathetically followed our Party for the last few years. Thousands of such people in the unemployed field, in the field of social insurance, in the trade union movement, in the election campaign, in the struggle against fascism and reaction, in the struggle against war, are readers of the Party press, especially of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker,* and are active forces, in the many organizations, following the Party in all its campaigns. Thousands of these would like to be part of our family. They even call themselves Communists and act as Communists. But they are kept from joining the Party by all kinds of doubts; especially by the fear that they would have to lessen their activities in the organizations they have at heart; or by the feeling that the Party will demand so much, that they will be forced to give less attention to their families, or break the ties with their circle of friends.

This question is a vital one, which every Party member must be equipped to clarify fully to these sympathizers. The Party does not intend to request all of their time. The Party appeals to them to join our ranks for the purpose of raising their efficiency in their sphere of activity. The aim is not to take them from their actual field of work, but to improve and strengthen their work through the guidance of the Party organization. The people who today work side by side with our Party members in the trade union movement; in the fraternal, cultural, and various united front fields; and who get the line of the Party through the Party press, the mass activities of the Party, and mass meetings, must be made to understand that, after joining the Party, their activities will not only be guided by the Party press which guides all our activities day by day, but that they will have the benefit of the discussion and of the education within the Party. This will raise their political level and understanding, thus developing their individual abilities to the real advantage in their sphere of work.

The Party must make clear, again and again, that good Communists do not underestimate their family ties or their circle of friends. One of the good qualities of a Communist is his keeping close to his dear ones and to his friends, bringing them closer to the revolutionary movement and into the Party. It is much easier to convince

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relatives and close friends than outsiders. Communists must learn how to discuss with their fellow-workers, relatives, and friends, and convince them of the correctness of the immediate program of our Party and its ultimate aims. We must learn to be patient and persistent. We must learn how to teach and learn at the same time, learn to be modest because we never can know enough. We must learn to avoid breaking relations with fellow-workers and friends because of disagreements on insignificant and petty questions. We will be successful in convincing people of the correctness of our program and in recruiting, if we keep in mind that our aim is to win the majority of the working class, to mobilize the toiling people around our program,, and to prove by deeds in our daily, concrete work that we mean exactly what we say, that our theory is combined with practice, that we have only one aim—the welfare and the emancipation of the toiling people.

ARMING THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP WITH MARXIST-LENINIST KNOWLEDGE

One of the main questions at this point is that of arming the Party with knowledge, knowledge which, properly expressed, will influence large masses and win them for our Party. The problem is one of arming our Party with Marxist-Leninist education which not only presents socialist society as the only form of liberation from exploitation, but which guides our daily activities, teaches us the methods to be pursued in bringing our program to the masses, and shows us how to convince, organize, and move them forward towards the final goal. The membership must be armed with the knowledge of the line to be pursued in the various fields of activities toward achieving an immediate objective—as, in this period, the line on the united front, on the People's Front—at the same time, keeping in view the long-range perspective and moving the masses in the direction of complete freedom.

We must raise the discussion in the units to a higher level so that every Party member may keep pace with the new developments and with the position of the Party on various issues, especially today when the Party is confronted with so many new problems and complicated situations. There is no excuse now for not improving the discussions in the units, for not holding successful educational meetings throughout the Party. The *Daily Worker,* the *Sunday Worker, The Communist, The Party Organizer,* the Party press in general, are giving the position of the Party on the problems arising every day, and furnishing sufficient material on the basis of which lively, interesting discussions can be held. There was a period when we were satisfied with our agitational abilities because we were able to put into the field a few good agitators and because of the good agitation in the Party press. Today, however, we realize that this is not sufficient, that the strengthening of the political capabilities of the lower organizations and increasing the knowledge of the individual Party member, are of decisive importance.

More education in the lower organizations means a step forward in the work of making every Party member an agitator and organizer, of improv-

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ing our shop papers, neighborhood papers, and of improving our approach to the masses.

During the recruiting drive—when the Party as a whole is mobilized to go to the masses and convince the thousands of sympathizers and friends, the thousands of militant workers, professionals and farmers, that their place is in our ranks—the strengthening of the education in the lower organizations, the arming of the individual Party member with convincing arguments, are decisive. We must consider that the recruiting drive is being conducted at a moment when the American working class is on the march, is awakening to class consciousness, is becoming more labor and political-minded and feels the growing power and role that labor must play in the life of the country. The answers given to the questions on which workers, farmers and professionals are still in doubt will to a great extent determine the results of the drive.

It is indisputable that the influence of our Party today reaches large strata of the population, that it has become a recognized factor in the life of the country. Yet, we must not forget that much scepticism still exists even among the thousands who have broken with their old prejudices against us. There are many people who appreciate our position and activities in some fields, but disagree with our line in others.

There are still many workers who want more clarification on the position of the Party on the question of the family, or on religion. There are others who, while fully agreeing that only a fundamental, radical change will bring freedom from exploitation, maintain all kinds of doubts in regard to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are others who fully agree with our principles but have doubts in regard to our inner life and do not join our ranks because of misconceptions of Communist discipline. All of these questions must be answered, not only through our press, our literature, and through mass meetings, but by the individual Party members in their daily contact with workers. There is no lack of argument on our side; we have the most powerful arguments in the world, arguments that are based on facts and figures. Let me take just one example to show how important it is to answer such questions with decisive arguments and how education is necessary in order to be armed with convincing arguments.

Today, when masses are in motion and listen more eagerly to our program, many of the prejudices have disappeared among middle class elements, farmers, and workers under middle class influence, yet you will hear such expressions: "Sure, we understand the necessity of a radical change. We see the Soviet Union is making headway, it is a very interesting experiment; but you Communists want a bloody revolution!" And those among these strata with a wider knowledge will even cite as examples the French Revolution or the Russian Revolution. But have we not arguments, facts and figures at our disposal to make these individuals realize how wrong they are?

Who was responsible for the blood spilt during the French Revolution, in the Paris Commune, during the

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struggles for the unification and independence of Germany and Italy, during the October Revolution? Is it not a historic fact that the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the October Revolution had the majority of the toiling people on their side and that bloodshed did not come when the French masses stormed the Bastille, when the Parisian workers set up their Commune, when the peasants and workers took over the Winter Palace, but when the counter-revolutionary forces took up arms against the victorious toiling people? It was not the forefathers, the majority of the American people who wanted independence, who called for bloodshed, but the British oppressors who, against the will of the American people, wanted to continue to keep America in chains. Blood was shed not when the toiling people took power, but the moment they were forced to defend their liberties against the bloody reactionary forces.

Unfortunately, these facts are hidden from the masses in the capitalist countries, are hidden or distorted in the textbooks of the high schools and universities, and in the bourgeois press. This is a simple example which shows that all the arguments are on our side. At the same time it proves how necessary education is in the organizations of our Party, to arm the individual Party members with knowledge, Marxist and Leninist knowledge, thus increasing the power of our agitation and propaganda among the toiling people.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTIONING OF THE PARTY

Simultaneously with the improvement of our education, we must take a series of organizational measures that will guarantee a better-functioning apparatus of the Party as a whole and of the lower organizations in particular. While we lay great emphasis on recruiting, we must take all those measures that will create the conditions for retaining the thousands of new Party members in our ranks. Splendid decisions have been made and are written into our resolutions of the Ninth Party Convention, in the documents of the last plenum, on how to improve the life of the lower organizations, the methods of work, the activities of the unit, and the functioning of the leading committees, especially the unit bureaus.

The problems of dues payment, of attendance, etc.—all organizational measures that not only lead towards increasing the Party activities, but help to reduce fluctuation—must be solved. We cannot ignore these "small" matters which in their totality are of tremendous importance in building the Party. Now when the Party is being mobilized for the recruiting campaign, the leading committees must establish conditions in the units of the Party so that the new Party members will feel at home, will feel that the Party *is* the highest form of organization, not only because of its aim and because of the fraternal feeling existing among its members who work and fight for the same cause, but also because of its organizational forms and its inner life.

The workers who join our ranks with enthusiasm from the trade unions and other mass organizations, are at times very much surprised to find that, here and there, discrepan-

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cies exist between our teachings and our conduct. They cannot understand, for example, why the Communists, who can be such good advisers in the trade unions in regard to the tightening up of the organizations, in regard to improving the meetings, in regard to collecting dues, etc., can, in their own organization, overlook things that are so important. Our Party is growing steadily, yet the dues payment, which to some degree is the barometer of its growth and activities, does not show a corresponding increase.

How can we explain this? Is this due to the fact that thousands of Party members, according to the dues payments have left the Party or are inactive? This is clearly not the case. The yearly controls prove that even those members who do not appear to be active, because of non-dues payment, are still functioning as Party members. The reason for the discrepancy is to be found in the fact that, in spite of our membership commissions, we have not developed the system of collecting dues. Also we have not yet developed the best system in regard to the attendance of unit meetings, the conduct of the meetings, the division of activities, etc.

In connection with the recruiting drive, we must take all those steps that will eliminate these apparently small shortcomings, which, as has been said before, when added up, prevent the rapid growth of the Party and obscure the many excellent features of our organization in the eyes of the new enthusiastic Party members.

Our present drive will be successful to the extent that we understand the great task of the Party at the present moment and our role as the driving force molding all the progressive forces of the country into a powerful People's Front movement is the prerequisite for checking the advance of fascism.

We have reached a point where we can speak of being a mass Party because of our mass activities, of our influence in the life of the country. We still have far to go, however, to reach the point where we shall not only be able to influence but to lead the majority of the toiling people towards their complete emancipation.

The recruiting drive which we are now conducting will be a great step forward on the glorious road of Party growth and power. Let us make this recruiting drive not only a landmark in the history of Party growth, but the point from which our Party will become the organization to which the masses will look for guidance in every sphere of their activity in the labor movement. We shall reach this goal if the leading committees, the leading comrades from the Central Committee down to the units, will give attention to the functioning of the Party organizations in the same manner, with the same enthusiasm, that they are today guiding the recruiting drive. We will reach our goal when every leading comrade will realize that more attention must be paid to our Party as an organization, that by improving our Party organization we shall not only strengthen the Party as such, but also the activities of the Party members and of the sympathizers connected with the organized masses of the country, thus improving and strengthening the life and activities of the labor movement as a whole.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

BY I. AMTER

"The Farmer-Labor Party, conceived as the American equivalent of the People's Front in France, is taking shape and growing within the womb of the disintegrating two old parties.

". . . It is precisely because of the exceptional breadth and speed of the rise of the Farmer-Labor movement *that there has occurred what seems like a pause in organizing the national Farmer-Labor* Party." *(Emphasis mine, I.A.)*

*"Steel workers will not listen to anyone who wants to deliver a lecture proving that the state, as the executive committee of the capitalist class, must always be a strike-breaker until it is taken over completely by the working class; that therefore the apparent difference between Pennsylvania and Illinois is a pure illusion; that the workers should abandon their support of the liberal Pennsylvania administration which they brought into power and come out with their own Farmer-Labor Party. . . ."**

As COMRADE BROWDER pointed out, the Farmer-Labor Party movement is growing at a very rapid pace, taking on various forms according to the conditions that exist. Outside of Minnesota and Wisconsin, where independent third parties exist, New York represents the most outspoken instance of an independent organization that is a section of Labor's Non-Partisan League, namely, the American Labor Party. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan the movement takes on a somewhat different form, owing to the complexity of the situation and the desire of the workers to *preserve unity in their ranks while building progressive political action.*

The first session of the 75th Congress, just closed, shows clearly that realignments are taking place. The attack upon Roosevelt's proposal for the Supreme Court, led by the reactionary Democrats, behind whom stood the Tory Republicans, makes it crystal-clear that the analysis of our Party made during and after the last election campaign was absolutely correct. The side-tracking of the anti-lynching bill and the wages-and-hours bill; the sabotaging of farm legislation; the emasculation of the Wagner-Steagall housing bill—are clear indications of the position of the reactionaries in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Outside of Congress the reactionaries are carrying on the struggle against centralization of the government. Although at the time of the drafting of the Constitution one hun-

* Earl Browder, *The Communists in the People's Front,* Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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dred and fifty years ago, the Tories, led by Alexander Hamilton, wanted a strong centralized federal government, today the offspring of these Tories are adamant on the question of states' rights. They put states' rights against federal rights, in order to make the unification of the United States into one nation more difficult of achievement. The Tories are taking advantage of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary to bring forward every reactionary idea that actuates them. The Republicans and Democrats alike of the reactionary wing are forming and solidifying their ranks against everything and everybody progressive.

The progressives on the other hand are not yet fully organized. The article by Congressman John T. Bernard in a recent issue of the *New Masses* indicates that there is a small group in Congress that agrees generally on all progressive measures; that there is a larger group that unites on certain progressive measures. But there is not an organized body within Congress that fights unitedly for the *whole program of the progressives. And what particularly is lacking is organized pressure of the masses to enforce progressive action.*

The reactionaries do not confine their activities to Congress. The setting up of national headquarters of the National Citizens' Committee in New York as the center of all vigilante organizations in the United States; the organization of the so-called "Independent Federation of Labor" as a boss-controlled buffer outfit to offset real unionization, being organized under a new guise in spite of the Wagner Labor Relations Law; the open activities of Nazi and other fascist organizations in this country; the defiance of Weir, Girdler, and other reactionary magnates, of the National Labor Relations Board—are spurring the progressive forces toward greater consolidation and intensive activity against all the forces of reaction.

At the last Central Committee meeting, Comrade Browder fully analyzed the forces at work in the building of the progressive movement. Briefly, the report showed the various stages of development of independent political action on the part of labor and the progressives. The outstanding instances are those of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Progressive Federation of Wisconsin. There is the development within the Democratic Party of the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, which entered the primaries and captured a large number of positions; the work of the Epic movement in California within the Democratic Party. The American Labor Party of New York is another outstanding step in the crystallization of the forces of organized labor into an independent party. The American Labor Party participated in the presidential elections of 1936 and now together with the progressives leads the fight for a continued progressive administration in the city of New York.

During the last election campaign, Labor's Non-Partisan League, outside of the state of New York, played mainly a propagandistic role. Since the elections, however, Labor's Non-Partisan League has come more to the fore, stimulating the formation of independent Labor and Farmer-Labor parties in the various communities.

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According to reports, late in the fall this year efforts will be made in various states of the Midwest and Northwest to establish independent parties of workers and farmers.

Labor's Non-Partisan League, based upon the organized workers, took a somewhat narrow view in regard to independent political action. The leaders of the Labor's Non-Partisan League did not, at least publicly, express an understanding of the relations between the workers and farmers. They rather reflected the old attitude of the workers toward the farmers, based upon the falsehood that the interests of the two groups are antagonistic.

Since the attack of farmers incited and led by company thugs upon the Hershey chocolate workers, it has become clear to the masses and leaders that in the struggle against reaction and fascism, *unity of the two groups is not only possible but necessary.* Hence, we hear John L. Lewis making proposals for unity of action between labor, the farmers, and the middle class.

This is a step in advance that bids well to weld together the productive forces in the United States—the workers, farmers, and the middle class—against reaction.

However, dissatisfied with President Roosevelt's "plague - on - both - your - houses" attitude toward labor, and declaring that labor has not received the support from the government that is due labor as a result of the mandate given Roosevelt in the last election; and particularly criticizing the Democratic Party for not being able to discipline its spokesmen in Congress along the lines of this mandate, Lewis hinted at the independent political working class action in the elections of 1940.

What is taking place among the workers? The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continues its reactionary course. It is organizing existing and incipient company unions into the A. F. of L. One of the outstanding examples of this is the taking into the A. F. of L. of the company union in the National Electrical Products in Ambridge, Pa. The Council is proceeding to wholesale expulsions of the C.I.O. unions from the state federations and central labor bodies. In one instance the Council has been decisively rebuffed, in West Virginia, where the state federation refused to unseat the delegates from the C.I.O. unions, and as a result had its charter revoked. At the conventions of the State Federation of Labor of Massachusetts and of New York (with the C.I.O. union delegates absent), there were present powerful progressive blocs. In fact, at the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, the progressive bloc was larger than at any time in the history of the State Federation.

Against these disruptive and destructive activities of the Executive Council, the workers of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. are uniting in action. Thus, in Essex County, New Jersey, the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions united in the struggle for civil rights. In Hershey, Pa., the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. workers marched and demonstrated together against company union organization. On the picket lines in New York and other localities, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. workers are to be found together.

This shows the following:

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1. A growing acceptance even inside the ranks of the A. F. of L. of the principles for which the C.I.O. stands—industrial unionism, organization of the unorganized, etc.

2. The growing spirit of unity in defiance of the position of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

3. Joint actions in bringing together the workers of the two trade union centers.

This unity must be spread and should culminate in a *unity congress* involving all the trade unions in the United States to weld them into one powerful united federation of labor.

It is this understanding of the need for unity expressed on the *economic* field that is determining the tactics of the progressives in many localities on the *political* field. In many localities, the workers clearly see and understand that results can be obtained only as long as the workers remain united. To split the forces of labor on the political field will only play into the hands of the reactionaries.

Therefore in Pennsylvania, the state of basic industry, where the workers have gone into struggle and a powerful trade union movement exists, the workers clearly recognize that because of the uneven political development, it is necessary for the workers to remain united and adjust their tactics to the existing situation. Thus, Pennsylvania, a traditionally Republican state, went Democratic in the last election. No one can question that this was due to the votes of the workers, the workers who are united in economic struggle and who united also at the polls in the struggle of progress against reaction. They face the municipal elections this year and argue correctly that the same tactic must be pursued.

Therefore in communities such as McKeesport and elsewhere, they are nominating labor candidates on the Democratic ticket, with a progressive labor platform, which will insure on the political field the achievements they have accomplished on the economic field.

In Akron and Canton, organized labor put forward its own candidates in the primaries and is conducting a very effective campaign, despite many weaknesses. In Detroit the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. came together behind the progressive ticket headed by Patrick O'Brien, an ex-coal miner. Although the original plan was to have a people's ticket embracing the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., professionals, Negroes, etc., after the barrage of attacks by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. against cooperation on any field of A. F. of L. unions with the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. unions withdrew and set up a ticket of their own. Frank X. Martel sent a letter to all the A. F. of L. unions in Detroit declaring that

". . . it is very evident the Communist elements in the auto workers have seized control of their political activities."

This he stated merely as an excuse for splitting the ranks of the workers; but this only plays into the hands of the reactionary political groups who, because of the split, may secure control in the coming municipal elections.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK

The American Labor Party in New York has entered the campaign with

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a progressive platform that is acceptable to all groups of progressives, even though in some respects the platform manifests weaknesses. Its candidate for mayor is the present incumbent, LaGuardia, who is also running in the Republican primaries. Mr. LaGuardia's record certainly is an advance over the reactionary Tammany administrations that preceded him. The platform of the American Labor Party deals with the immediate needs of the population on the question of housing, power, transit, milk, civil service, public welfare, labor relations, education, proportional representation (against which Tammany is fighting with all its might, as against the new charter).

The housing situation in New York is extremely serious. Owing to the fact that there has been little construction during the whole period of the crisis, apartments are scarcely available. Rents in the slums and poor districts have gone up 50 per cent. The American Labor Party program advocates low rent costs, state credit to housing and uniform participation of both city and federal government in large scale housing projects.

It is true, however, that this does not meet the immediate situation confronting millions of people living in houses that have been condemned under the Multiple Dwelling Law for whom provision must be made immediately.

The question of a city-owned power plant is of great importance. This involves also the question of public ownership of transit in order to save the five-cent fare and to install union conditions on all the subway lines.

The milk trust in the past few months has raised the price of milk two cents a quart, which is seriously affecting the lives of the poorer population. A city distributing plant, which the platform proposes, may meet this situation. The extension of health services, hospitals, sanitation; safeguarding the rights of the civil service employees; the elimination of child labor and sweatshop conditions; a broader educational system—these are other factors in the platform of the American Labor Party.

One plank deserves particular mention, that which calls for

> ". . . a great free, public educational system, founded on liberal thought, which will serve at all times as a barrier and bulwark against the savage, medieval doctrines of force and fascism now sweeping a large portion of the world. Enlightenment and constant emphasis on the American traditions of free speech, religious liberty and free public press will help annihilate these brutal doctrines forever."

This plank is of tremendous importance in view of the efforts being made by the reactionaries and fascist-minded people to seize the public educational system in order to entrench themselves among the children and youth. This stalwart position of the American Labor Party brings it to the fore as a champion of progressive thought throughout the city.

There are, however, weaknesses in the American Labor Party platform in that it does not declare for the unrestricted right of organization, strike and picketing. It does not deal with the question of taxation which burdens the small home owners in certain counties of the municipality, like Queens. It says nothing about the Bankers' Agreement, as a result of

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which $156,000,000 each year flows into the coffers of the Wall Street bankers as interest on the municipal debt.

It does not propose to increase taxation upon the rich in order to relieve the poor, and put an end to the sales tax. It says nothing about the rights of the Negro people who on the questions of jobs, relief, housing and their civil rights are persecuted and harrassed in every form. Nevertheless, all in all, the platform of the A.L.P. is a progressive platform, and already has been branded by the reactionaries as a "collectivist" platform, a "Communist" platform, and what not.

Independent progressive groups are moving toward endorsement of the American Labor Party platform. Thus, the Fusion Party, the Progressive Party, and even progressive leaders of the Republican Party, like K. F. Simpson of New York County, have endorsed the mayoralty candidate of the American Labor Party as well as its platform.

Inside the Democratic Party, the struggle is becoming keen. The candidate of Tammany Hall, the reactionary Senator Copeland, has carried on a vicious campaign aided by the Nazis and Al Smith, the Liberty League representative. Copeland is running in the primaries also on the Republican ticket. Jeremiah Titus Mahoney, is trying to cash in among the Jewish population on his opposition to American participation in the Olympiad at Berlin last year. Mr. Mahoney, a pretended supporter of the New Deal, nevertheless, has been unanimously rejected by organized labor in New York City.

The last convention of the New York State Federation of Labor went unanimously on record in endorsing Mayor LaGuardia. All the officials and trade union leaders within the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, headed by Joseph P. Ryan, have endorsed LaGuardia. It is obvious therefore, that although New York labor as a whole may not yet endorse the American Labor Party, its platform and ticket, it is solidly united behind the candidate for mayor and accepts in the main the sponsorship of the American Labor Party.

In the process of the campaign, greater unity of the progressive forces is taking place. There seems to be no doubt that after the primaries on September 16, the A.L.P., the Fusion Party, the Progressives, and large progressive groups within the Republican and Democratic Parties will be relatively well united at least around a united ticket.

In up-state New York also, in such towns as Schenectady and other industrial cities, the A.L.P. is putting forward its own candidates, and at the same time endorsing progressive candidates of the two major parties. This is somewhat in line with the development in other states, in the building of the Farmer-Labor movement without as yet sufficient crystallization of the movement into an independent party.

The Communist Party in New York has put forward its own program and a full ticket. In this campaign, however, according to the speech of Comrade Browder at the Coney Island Velodrome on August 26, the Communists declared that they

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would withdraw their candidates for the nominees of the A.L.P. and would observe united front discipline to bring about the victory of the A.L.P. and all progressives in the coming municipal election campaign.

Owing to the new city charter, a City Council will be elected to replace the former Board of Aldermen. For every 75,000 votes cast in each borough, there will be elected a member of the City Council. This will take place on the basis of proportional representation and preferential voting. The Communist Party has nominated one candidate in every borough for City Council, who will participate in the elections despite other withdrawals for candidates for the A.L.P. The Communist Party candidates will not run in opposition to the A.L.P. candidates, since the A.L.P. has nominated only one or two candidates for the City Council in each borough.

The Communist Party in New York is carrying out one of the most intensive campaigns in its history. By widespread use of the radio, newspapers, posters, organization of committees in support particularly of the councilmanic candidates, there is every prospect that Communists may be elected to the City Council. The candidates are: I Amter, candidate for the Borough of Manhattan; I. Begun, candidate from the Bronx; Peter V. Cacchione, candidate from the Borough of Brooklyn; Paul Crosbie, candidate from the Borough of Queens. The Party is calling upon the workers to vote first choice for these candidates, which vote, augmented by second and third choices, may result in the election of one or more Communists to the City Council.

THE CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party, which has just concluded the expulsion of 122 Trotskyites in New York and other Trotskyites in Chicago and California, continues to face a critical situation. The action of the recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the S. P. in New York on the question of cooperation with the A.L.P. in New York, and the situation in Fort Wayne, Indiana, is confusing. The National Executive Committee, controlled by the semi-Trotskyite Zam-Tyler "Clarity" group, declared in its resolution that

> ". . . it shall be made clear to the American Labor Party that no support is to be given by the Socialist Party to La Guardia and that criticism of La Guardia from the Socialist point of view is to be presented.
>
> "The Socialist Party shall not give any backing to Dewey, Morris [candidates for District Attorney and President of the City Council on the Republican ticket and endorsed by Fusion and the progressives] or any other Republican or capitalist party candidate, and will carry on traditional Socialist criticism.
>
> "Support by the American Labor Party for certain candidates of the Socialist Party, while not mandatory, is to be urged vigorously on the A.L.P." *

In view of this confused resolution in which the Zam-Tyler National Executive Committee did not dare to take a clear position on the question of the *unity of all progressives against the reactionary Tammany-Al Smith-Liberty League-Tory Republican candidates,* the Socialist Party, while evidently proposing withdrawal of Norman Thomas as candidate for mayor, will take a negative position regard-

* *Socialist Call,* Sept. 11, 1937.

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ing the mayoralty candidate of the American Labor Party, and at the same time will carry on a campaign for its other Socialist Party candidates.

To be sure, the S.P. has very little support in New York. After its debacle of 1936 and its failure to learn any lessons, the Socialist Party, in view of the wreckage that has been caused by the Trotskyites and the vacillating position regarding the Trotskyites taken by the National Executive Committee, is doomed to carry on a very weak campaign and to receive a vote that may further reduce the Socialist Party as a political force in New York politics.

However, despite the S.P., there will a growing unity of the progressive forces in New York. The credit for this can be laid greatly at the door of the Communist Party which, through its correct position in 1936 and the analysis by the Central Committee after the elections, and the application of this line in 1937 for the unity of all progressives against reaction, has helped broaden the perspective of the A.L.P. As a result, the A.L.P. does not regard itself as the only progressive political force in New York—although it is the *most powerful,* being based upon the trade unions—but is bringing together all the progressives both inside and outside the Democratic and Republican Parties.

This can only result ultimately in strengthening the American Labor Party and in building it up into a major political organization in 1937, in preparation for the Congressional elections of 1938 and as a base for the presidential elections in 1940.

THE WORK THAT MUST BE DONE BY OUR PARTY

What are our tasks as Communists?

1. It is our duty everywhere to carry on educational work for progressive political policies and for the progressive tickets and candidates in all unions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. We cannot accept the position of the leaders of the Connecticut A. F. of L. —Shea and Ryan—that "labor wants no third party." The position of these A. F. of L. leaders is not a reflection of the policy of the progressives for organizing progressive blocs within the old parties, but merely a continuation of the policy of Sam Gompers of "rewarding one's friends and punishing one's enemies."

2. It is necessary to rally around the progressive forces in the trade unions all other progressive forces, such as farmers, professionals, small businessmen and the Negro people.

3. Where a progressive platform does not exist, it should be formulated without delay and placed, in the name of the progressive group, before the various progressive candidates running on the tickets of the major political parties. This will have the effect of tying these candidates to pledges. In cases where these progressive candidates are not strong enough to stand on their own feet, it will give them the support of the organized labor and progressive forces, when elected.

4. The most active participation on the part of Communists and all progressives in an *organized* manner *during and after* the elections. This latter phase is most important in order to solidify the progressive forces in every

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organization, in preparation for the Congressional elections of 1938.

In New York the situation, with the existence of the American Labor Party, is somewhat different. Here it is the duty of all Communists and militant workers: (a) To have their unions affiliate to the American Labor Party and become active therein; (b) To establish committees in the unions and mass organizations for the campaign and behind the ticket and platform of the A.L.P.; (c) To carry on in the assembly district clubs of the American Labor Party an active campaign to build up the American Labor Party; (d) To make all efforts during the campaign to establish the closest relations with the leaders and members of the Fusion and Progressive parties, so that after the campaign there may be a fusion of these parties with the A.L.P.; (e) To establish the closest relations with the progressive Democratic and Republican groups.

During the election campaign, with millions of workers and farmers in motion, we will establish contact with thousands and tens of thousands of militant workers. The name "Communist" is no longer held as a horror nor is our Party so misunderstood as before 1936. Today we are a factor in the life of the country, a force whose political basis is becoming clearer to millions of people. The workers everywhere wish to know the position of the Communist Party. We cannot have a better opportunity to increase the circulation of the *Daily Worker* in the East, and to help establish the two new papers of the Party in the Midwest and West than during the election campaign. Ours is not merely a campaign to get votes. It is a struggle linked up with every need and struggle of the common people. These people wish to know our position. We must explain it to them. *The circulation drive of the* Daily Worker *is therefore of outstanding importance.*

Immediate struggles lie ahead. The new offensive on the part of the economic royalists, the open shoppers, and company unionists is beginning. *By every Communist becoming active in the shop, in the union, and among the unemployed; in the struggle for the release of the Scottsboro boys, for trade union organization, for relief, for our civil rights, against fascism and war, by linking up these struggles with the election campaign, we not only have the opportunity but the responsibility of carrying out the decision of the Central Committee Plenum, namely, the doubling of our membership from 50,000 to 100,000 by November 7.*

This election campaign will be a test of strength. Will reaction succeed in entrenching itself through the municipal and other elections, or will the flag of progress be raised? That is the issue.

* * *

Editorial Note

Since this was written, Copeland was decisively defeated in the primaries. Another arch-enemy of labor and progress, George N. Harvey, candidate for Borough President of Queens, must be defeated. It was a most unfortunate blunder for LaGuardia to have endorsed this candidate. The American Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party have all condemned this endorsement and have declared for Harvey's imperative defeat.

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KARL MARX'S "CAPITAL"

SOME POINTERS ON ITS CONTENTS ON THE OCCASION OF ITS SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AT 2 a.m., on August 16, 1867, Karl Marx wrote to Engels, after reading the last page-proofs of *Capital*, Volume I:

> "*So this volume is finished.* This has been possible thanks to *you* alone. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks. Greetings, my dear, beloved friend!"

This document of the cordial friendship and boundless devotion of two men whom mankind will always number among its greatest figures is likewise the birth certificate of the work that will forever rank first among all the products of human knowledge.

At the world turning point, when mankind is effecting the leap from the kingdom of necessity into the realm of freedom, *Capital* reveals the specific laws of development of the historical epoch now nearing its close. "It is the ultimate aim of this work," Marx says in the preface to *Capital*, "to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 14.) But it also gives us *the* law of motion, particularly "the science of the general laws of motion—both of the external world and of human thought," as Engels defines dialectics. This is elaborated in *Capital* with a clarity and consistency unparalleled up to that time.

Armed with the last word in the knowledge of his time, and gifted with unexcelled keenness of vision, Marx lets no problem of the time pass by without taking a stand. Political economy, economic history, the history of the ancient world and of prehistoric times, philosophy, dialectic and historical materialism, technology, agricultural science, chemistry—all of this is treated in detail or in brief comments which often shed more light than many thick tomes could have done.

The great thinkers of all time parade before us here: Heraclitus, Aristotle, Plato, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach; the greatest poets: Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Heine; as well as the founders of political economy, the Physiocrats and the classics: Quesnay, Turgot, William Petty, Adam Smith, and Ricardo, together with their disciples and shallow successors. *Capital* also shows us the great utopians: Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Owen, as well as the petty-bourgeois utopian Proudhon. The chief scenes of *Capital* are laid in England, the country that dominated the world market at that time. But

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its real scene is the whole world: the United States, Canada, South America, Germany, Russia, Turkey, the Balkans, Egypt, India, and China. Smaller countries are also dealt with at length, as Ireland, for instance, showing the importance that Marx attached to national oppression.

Hence *Capital* is not merely the principal work on political economy, but also a gigantic encyclopedia, an all-inclusive work of human knowledge.

* * *

Marx wrote *Capital,* as he tells Kugelmann, "in order to raise the Party as high as possible and to disarm even the vulgar by the manner of presentation." (October 11, 1867.) Moreover, he was of the opinion that there is no broad highway leading to the sciences and that only those who were ready to climb their steep slopes could hope to reach their shining summits. Marx laid great weight upon *Capital* being discussed in workers' meetings, and he hoped that people would soon be found to write simple paraphrases of the more important sections, thus providing the introductions needed for workers who were less highly-trained but no less favorably impressed by the work. At first such persons were not to be found. But the theory of surplus value and of exploitation made its way into propaganda literature and soon became part of the flesh and blood of the fighting working class. Only after Marx's death did the first exhaustive popularizations appear. Their authors endeavored to reproduce the great work on a smaller scale, but nevertheless correctly. They did not succeed.. They did not set forth the "economic doctrines" of Karl Marx, but vulgarized them.

Lenin was the first, since Engels, to give a wholly correct evaluation and exposition of the principal sections of *Capital.* As early as the middle of the 'nineties, in his first writings which already show the hand of the master, he took the field against Mikhailovsky and Struve,* who tried to turn *Capital* into a theoretical work for the foundation of a peaceful policy of social reform, and disputed its philosophical significance. Lenin coined the epigram: Although Marx wrote no *Logic* like Hegel,, yet he provided a complete logic in *Capital!* Lenin's later article on Karl Marx, written at the beginning of the imperialist war, gives us the principal ideas of *Capital* beautifully summarized in a few pages. And in one of his last works, the unfinished sketch on dialetics, he heralds Marx's analysis of commodities as a model of dialectical exposition. Lenin says:

"In *Capital* Marx first analyzes the simplest, commonest, most fundamental, most numerous, most everyday, *relationship* of bourgeois commodity society, which can be observed billions of times: the exchange of commodities. In this simplest phenomenon (in this 'cell' of bourgeois society) the analysis discloses *all* the contradictions (or the germs of *all* the contradictions, respectively) of modern society. The subsequent

* P. B. Struve, born 1870, originally a Marxian theoretician and author of the Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, issued after its first congress in 1898, he later renounced his Marxism and gradually swung from liberalism to reaction and from 1925 has been editing an emigre monarchist paper in Paris.

N. C. Mikhailovsky (1842-1904), an outstanding theorist of the Narodnik school and a spiritual leader of the Russian intelligentsia in the 'eighties and 'nineties. He formulated a theory of historical process of his own.

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exposition portrays the development (*both* the growth *and* the movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the sum total of their component parts, from their beginning to their end."

Never before had a disciple of Marx written so profoundly on the first chapter of *Capital!*

Even the best of Marx's other disciples bewail the "Hegelistics" with which Marx "unnecessarily complicates" the analysis of the commodity. Lenin, however, proclaims: "This must be the manner of exposition in general!"

Lenin's activity in the preparatory work for the revolution, in the creation of the Bolshevik Party and in extending Marxist theory in its application to the epoch of imperialism did not allow him to write on *Capital* more comprehensively. He took as his general position that it is more pleasant and useful to go through the "experience of the revolution" than to write about it. But the victory of the socialist October Revolution in 1917 a renaissance of *Capital* set in, as it were. It began to be most thoroughly studied on a gigantic scale in the land of the revolution.

Here too we see dialectics at work. The country in which the laws of capitalism have been abolished displays the greatest interest in *Capital,* which provides the classical formulation of these laws. *Capital* is extremely important, to be sure, for knowledge of the surrounding capitalist world. It indicates the correct line of general development; it contains mighty ideas which give tremendous impetus to the building of socialism; and it will always enrich Marxist thought, even after the fall of capitalism.

* * *

It is not so easy to give even a few pointers on the contents of *Capital.* For that means the portrayal of some of the main ideas, in such a way as to reproduce in brief what Marx set forth at length. But Marx wrote in a very closely-knit style. Let us take a sentence from the second page of *Capital,* Chapter I:

"Use values constitute the *substance of all wealth,* whatever may be the *social form* of that wealth." (Our italics—Ed.)

These few words comprise a number of very important ideas.

Wealth can have various social forms, that is, the society that produces wealth may take on various forms. Wealth may be produced by slaves, by serfs, or by the members of a patriarchial peasant family, where it is used solely for the private need of the slaveowner, the feudal lord, or the family. But wage-workers can also create wealth as persons exploited by capital. This wealth will then be consumed only indirectly: via exchange, via sale. In all these cases use-value constitutes the substance of wealth. But the use-value produced by wage-labor is likewise the material bearer of exchange-value.

Here we are introduced to a new concept, exchange-value, which has to be explained in turn. How can that be done in a few sentences, when *Capital* devotes so many pages to it! Luckily Marx helps us himself. In a letter to Kugelmann he explains exchange-value briefly. To make his comments easier to understand, however, we must preface them with some further explanation of the forms of social production already mentioned.

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There are two forms of the social production of goods: first, a society that deliberately regulates the production of goods, that works for its own needs and distributes the products among its members. Examples of this are the patriarchial peasant family of one hundred years ago, a communist community such as still existed in India in the nineteenth century, and a developed socialist society. Second, there is a social production by producers independent of each other, such as we see today in the capitalist world. And now let us hear what Marx has to say:

"Every child knows that a country which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but for a few weeks, would die. Every child knows, too, that the mass of products corresponds to the different needs, require different and quantitatively determined masses of the total labor of society. That this necessity of distributing social labor in definite proportions cannot be done away with by the *particular form* of social production, but can only change the *form it assumes,* is self evident. No natural laws can be done away with. What can change, in changing historical circumstances, is the *form* in which these laws operate. And the form in which this proportional division of labor operates, in a state of society where the interconnection of social labor is manifested in the *private exchange* of the individual products of labor, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products." (*Letters to Kugelmann,* pp. 73-74.)

"The point of bourgeois society consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no conscious social regulation of production. The reasonable and the necessary in nature asserts itself only as a blindly working average." (*Ibid.,* p. 74.)

In other words, exchange-value is the labor contained in commodities, which, however, is value-creating only in so far as it is socially necessary for the production of the commodity.

"The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time." (*Capital,* Vol. I, p. 46.)

Marx treats of this idea at length in the section on the "Fetishism of Commodities," where he also coins the celebrated phrase: Value is a relation between persons expressed as a relation between things. (*Capital,* Vol. I, p. 85 footnote.) In the section "The Metamorphosis of Commodities," Marx gives an extremely vivid picture of how what is socially necessary prevails in the market, how every yard of linen must justify itself as a definite part of the total amount of social labor expended in the linen.

Let us cite merely a few lines of this passage, which extend the concept of socially necessary labor and which are usually overlooked in the popularizing literature. Marx says:

"Lastly, suppose that every piece of linen in the market contains no more labor-time than is socially necessary. In spite of this, all these pieces taken as a whole may have had superfluous labor-time spent upon them. If the market cannot stomach the whole quantity at the normal price of two shillings a yard, this proves that too great a portion of the total labor of the community has been expended in the form of weaving. The effect is the same as if each individual weaver had expended more labor-time upon his particular product than is socially necessary. Here we may say, with the German proverb: caught together, hung together." (*Capital,* p. 120.)

True enough, individual passages torn out of their context do not suffice for full understanding. *Capital* must be studied from the very first page onward.

* * *

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In the cited exposition, proceeding from the consideration of the various kinds of social production of wealth we reached an understanding of exchange-value, which is met with only in a society where products enter consumption through the roundabout channel of exchange, of sale. But Marx does not start with society, but with the cell-form of bourgeois society, the commodity. In his analysis he shows the germs of all the contradictions of bourgeois society—as Lenin keenly emphasizes in the cited sentences.

One of the chief contradictions of bourgeois society, for example, is the crisis, an unknown phenomenon in former times. Society is plagued by hunger because too much food has been produced! Marx solves the riddle in the simplest fashion.

An uninterrupted cycle of production, the prerequisite for the nonexistence of a crisis, exists only when every commodity is converted into money and the money is converted into commodities: C—M—C. But this cycle is divided into two different occurrences, C—M and M—C. Now, if the person who obtains money does not buy commodities, which he is able to do without further ado, the cycle is broken. This simple formula exhibits in embryo the most gigantic phenomenon of bourgeois society, the crisis, and thus explains it, though merely in the rough.

The analysis of the commodity likewise provides an astonishingly simple solution of the riddle of money. To gauge the tremendous confusion existing in regard to this problem it suffices to point out Ferdinand Lassalle's* unclarity on the economic concept of money. He writes in his *Heraclitus,* for instance:

> "Money can never be really consumed; thus it merely denotes the products that can be exchanged for it and which it therefore merely *represents.*
>
> "Money is *quasi* an agent of exchange, merely personified value, the *filtered-out abstract unity* of products.
>
> "That money is not anything *real,* but something *solely ideal,* is proved by the fact that money or value can never become as such a reality of consumption."

Capital, however, shows how the form of value develops from the simplest forms, where it appears merely as an accident (say, when two nomad tribes meet and exchange what they have in abundance for what they lack), to the developed form, where the most diverse products are exchanged for the most diverse products; from this form it turns into the universal form, where everything can be exchanged for one commodity, say cattle, where everyone wants to possess this commodity for which any other can be easily exchanged, and where in this manner cattle remains cattle, a special commodity, and can be consumed as such, but is also employed as money, as a universal commodity. (The Latin word for money, *pecunia,* is derived from the words "for cattle.")

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* Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825-1864, one of the outstanding leaders of the German labor movement. His fallacious theory of the "iron law of wages" caused him to neglect the economic struggle and trade union organization of the proletariat and to concentrate chiefly upon the conquest of universal suffrage to enable the workers to exert influence upon the government with a view to securing state credit for producers' associations, through which a gradual transition to socialism would be effected. On this basis he worked in collaboration with Bismarck.

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Put money in place of cattle and you have the complete solution of the money riddle.

The score of pages in which Marx sets forth the form of value, the relative form of value, and the equivalent form of value, also give us a concise economic history that covers thousands of years.

* * *

". . . the value of labor-power, and the value which that labor-power creates in the labor process, are two entirely different magnitudes. . . ." (*Capital,* pp. 215-216.)

This pithy sentence comprises the refutation of the theory of wages of classic economics. But, above all, it contains the fundamental concept of the theory of surplus value.

Exploitation is not an invention of the capitalists.

"Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether this proprietor be the Athenian aristocrat, Etruscan theocrat, Roman citizen, Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian boyard, modern landlord or capitalist." (*Capital,* pp. 259-260.)

But, whereas the labor performed by the serf for himself is sharply differentiated from the unpaid labor he performs for the landlord on the latter's estate, with the separation of the necessary labor (for his own maintenance) from the surplus labor (for the feudal lord) strikingly visible, this separation into necessary labor (for himself) and surplus labor (for the capitalist) is blurred in wage-labor.

Classic economics also recognized the exploitation of the worker by capital. Adam Smith states in his great work, *The Wealth of Nations:*

"In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him. . . .

"As soon as land becomes private property, the landlord demands a share of almost all the produce which the laborer can either raise, or collect from it. His rent makes the first deduction from the produce of the labor which is employed upon land.

"It seldom happens that the person who tills the ground has wherewithal to maintain himself till he reaps the harvest. His maintenance is generally advanced to him from the stock of a master, the farmer who employs him, and who would have no interest to employ him, unless he was to share in the produce of his labor, or unless his stock was to be replaced to him with a profit. This profit makes a second deduction from the produce of labor which is employed upon land." (*Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations,* Modern Library, New York, 1937: pp. 64-65.)

But as classic economics assumed that the *labor* of the wage-worker was paid for, it could not clearly prove the existence of exploitation; it rather helped to cloak this exploitation. Marx demonstrated that the worker does not sell his labor, but his *labor power.* The value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary to maintain its owner. Then Marx analyzed the capitalist labor process. He showed that this is divided into the *process of creating value* and the *process of producing surplus value.*

Say the capitalist is engaged in the production of yarn. In six hours of labor the worker converts cotton worth 10 shillings into yarn worth 15 shillings. As in this labor process two shillings represent the wear and tear

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of the spindle and labor-power worth three shillings, which the worker gets paid, is added to the new product, the increased value of the yarn is nothing more nor less than a simple addition of the values already there. In order to get a profit, the capitalist has the worker labor beyond the working time necessary to replace the value of his labor-power, and he himself pockets the value thus created. In six hours the worker has already produced yarn worth 15 shillings. Now, if cotton worth 10 shillings is again thrown into the process of production, and spindle to the value of two shillings is used up in another six hours, this newly-produced yarn costs the capitalist only 12 shillings, as he does not pay the worker for the additional six hours of labor. But this yarn is no better and no worse than the yarn produced in the first six hours, and the manufacturer sells it for 15 shillings, too. The first six hours' work was a process of producing value; the continuation of work for another six hours is the process of creating surplus value.

"If we now compare the two processes of *producing value* and of *creating surplus value,* we see that the latter is nothing but *the continuation* of the former beyond a definite point. If, on the one hand, the process be not carried *beyond the point* where the value paid by the capitalist for the labor-power is replaced by an exact *equivalent,* it is simply a process of producing value; if, on the other hand, it be continued *beyond that point,* it becomes a process of creating surplus value." (*Capital,* p. 218. Our italics—*Ed.*)

The hundred pages of *Capital* treating of the conversion of money into capital and the creation of surplus value are very easy to understand and written in a really fascinating style.

We find passages here that can scarcely be matched and certainly not excelled in all world literature from the standpoint of pure style. Let us quote a few paragraphs where Marx describes the workers' struggle for the normal working day:

"The capitalist has bought the labor-power at its *day-rate.* To him its *use-value* belongs during one working day. He has thus acquired the right to make the laborer work for him during one day. But what is a *working day?*

"At all events, less than a natural day. By how much? The capitalist has his own views of this *ultima Thule,* the *necessary limit of the working day.* As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital. But capital has one single life impulse, the tendency to create value and surplus value, to make its *constant* factor, the means of production, absorb the greatest possible amount of surplus labor.

"Capital is dead labor, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks. The time during which the laborer works is the time during which the capitalist *consumes* the labor-power he has purchased of him.

"If the laborer consumes his disposable time for himself, he robs the capitalist.

"The capitalist then takes his stand on *the law of the exchange of commodities.* He, like all other buyers, seeks to get the greatest possible benefit out of the use-value of his commodity. Suddenly the voice of the laborer, which had been stifled in the storm and stress of the process of production, rises:

"The commodity that I have sold to you differs from the crowd of other commodities, in that its use *creates* value, and a value greater than its own. That is why you bought it. That which on your side appears a spontaneous expansion of capital is on mine extra expenditure of labor-power. You and I know on the market only one law, that of the exchange of commodities. And the consumption of the commodity belongs not to the seller who parts with it, but to the buyer, who acquires it. To you, therefore, belongs

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the use of my daily labor-power. But by means of the price that you pay for it each day, I must be able to reproduce it daily, and to sell it again.

"Apart from natural exhaustion through age, etc., I must be able on the morrow to work with the same normal amount of force, health and freshness as today. You preach to me constantly the gospel of 'saving' and 'abstinence.' Good! I will, like a sensible saving owner, husband my sole wealth, labor-power, and abstain from all foolish waste of it. I will each day spend, set in motion, put into action only as much of it as is compatible with its normal duration, and healthy development. By an unlimited extension of the working day, you may in one day use up a quantity of labor-power greater than I can restore in three. What you gain in labor I lose in substance. The *use* of my labor and the *spoliation* of it are quite different things. If the average time that (doing a reasonable amount of work) an average laborer can live is 30 years, the value of my labor-power, which you pay me from day to day, is $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$ or $\frac{1}{10950}$ of its total value. But if you consume it in ten years, you pay me daily $\frac{1}{10950}$ instead of $\frac{1}{3650}$ of its total value, *i.e.*, only $1/3$ of its daily value, and you rob me, therefore, every day of $2/3$ of the value of my commodity.

"You pay me for one day's labor-power, whilst you use that of three days. That is against our contract and the law of exchanges. I demand, therefore, a working day of *normal* length, and I demand it without any appeal to your heart, for in money matters sentiment is out of place. You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and in the odor of sanctity to boot; but the *thing* that you represent face to face with me has no heart in its breast. That which seems to throb there is my own *heart-beating*. I demand the *normal working day* because I, like every other seller, demand the value of my commodity." (*Capital*, pp. 257-259. Our italics—*Ed.*)

Complaints are often made about the style and the language of *Capital*. In a sketch of its contents place must be found for a small sample of its language and the manner of presentation.

* * *

From an extremely high lookout point Marx surveys all of life in all its mutual interactions.

Capital is a militant book—a sharp weapon in the workers' struggle for the improvement of their conditions, for their emancipation, but it is free from any one-sided exaggeration. We know Lafargue's little pamphlet *The Right To Be Lazy*. In the endeavor to score exploitation as sharply as possible he denounces work in general and professes its damnation, as was done by primitive Christianity ("the curse of labor") and the ancient world ("labor is unworthy of a free man"). Marx does not let himself be led astray by the temporary enslavement of labor. He draws a sharp line between the labor process and the process of creating surplus value, and gives us a splendid characterization of labor, independent of its given social form. He writes:

"Labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own force, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway." (*Capital*, pp. 197-198.)

In this connection Marx develops an idea of Hegel's, *viz.*, that *thinking*

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distinguishes man from beasts. The passage in Hegel reads:

"In our day it cannot be too often recalled, that what distinguishes man from the beasts is the *faculty of Thought*. . . . But if Nature in general is opposed, as physical, to what is *mental*, then it must be said that Logic is rather that something Supernatural which enters into all the natural *behavior* of man—Feeling, Intuition, Desire, Need, Impulse—and thereby alone transforms it all to something human—to ideas and purposes—though, perhaps, only formally human." (*Science of Logic*, Vol. I, pp. 39-40, London, 1929.)

It is fascinating to see how Marx translates this idea into the purely materialistic, so to speak, in connection with labor. After the foregoing definition of labor, Marx continues:

"We are not now dealing with those primitive instinctive forms of labor that remind us of the mere animal. An immeasurable interval of time separates the state of things in which a man brings his labor-power to market for sale as a commodity from that state in which human labor was still in its first instinctive stage. We presuppose labor in a form that stamps it as exclusively *human*. A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labor-process, we get a result that already existed in the *imagination* of the laborer at its commencement. He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also *realizes a purpose of his own* that gives the law to his *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will. And this subordination is no mere momentary act.

"Besides the exertion of the bodily organs, the process demands that, during the whole operation, the workman's will be steadily in consonance with his *purpose*. This means close *attention*. The less he is attracted by the nature of the work, and the mode in which it is carried on, and the less, therefore, he enjoys it as something which gives play to his bodily and mental powers, the closer his attention is forced to be." (*Capital*, p. 198. Our italics—*Ed.*)

Here we also have the wonderful explanation of a worker's labor as something which "gives play to his bodily and mental powers"—as is already beginning to be realized in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, this is likewise a passage that demonstrates the living significance of *Capital* far beyond the confines of capitalism.

Marx chiefly investigates a special form of the social production of goods, capitalism. He presents its rise and its passing. At the same time he grants us an insight into the laws of production in general, irrespective of its particular social form. That is why mankind will derive instruction from *Capital* for a long time to come, long after every trace of capitalist society will have disappeared.

* * *

The footnotes in *Capital* are extraordinary. Here Marx does justice to everyone who was the first to express an idea, even though sketchily and unconscious of its great significance, that Marx develops universally and in all its context. Thus, the footnotes constitute a hall of fame of the thinkers of mankind.

They also constitute a monument to the champions of the proletariat, as well as to those factory inspectors who did not let themselves be bribed by the manufacturers and landowners, exposing their shameful acts without hesitation. Marx places Leonard Horner, a factory inspector who became a selfless and self-sacrificing de-

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fender of the workers' interests, on a special pedestal.

The footnotes also provide an almost complete critique of the whole of political economy and a fundamental dispatching of the vulgar economic heroes of the time, the professorial windbags of the bourgeoisie.

Here Proudhon with his exchange bank is also dispatched—Proudhon who imagined he had worked out a system that could free the independent owners of commodities from their dependence upon the market and its often fatal effects. In reality one presupposes the other, just as the positive magnetic pole presupposes the negative pole. How delightful is the following remark by Marx on Proudhon:

"Proudhon begins by taking his *ideal of justice,* of 'justice eternelle,' from the juridical relations that correspond to the production of commodities; thereby, it may be noted, he proves, to the consolation of all good citizens, that the production of commodities is a form of production as everlasting as justice. Then he turns round and seeks to reform the actual production of commodities, and the actual legal system corresponding thereto, in accordance with this ideal. What opinion should we have of a chemist, who, instead of studying the actual laws of the molecular changes in the composition and decomposition of matter, and on that foundation solving definite problems, claimed to regulate the composition and decomposition of matter by means of the 'eternal ideas,' of 'naturalite' and 'affinite'?" (*Capital,* pp. 96-97, footnote. Our italics—*Ed.*)

This remark is one of the group of brief, witty comments in *Capital* which set historical materialism in a new light. It should be remembered that the Marxists of the Second International, with few exceptions, always complained that Marx left behind no special book on historical materialism. All he said about it, they asserted, was the few lines in the preface to the *Critique of Political Economy.* They did not see the forest for the trees. Let us take the following footnote, for example:

"Technology discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them." (*Capital,* p. 406, footnote.)

Is a terser or keener formulation of historical materialism at all conceivable?

The following portion of the footnote on page 94, in Chapter 1, takes the place of a whole treatise on historical materialism. It reads:

"I seize this opportunity of shortly answering an objection taken by a German paper in America, to my work, *Critique of Political Economy,* 1859. In the estimation of that paper, my view that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society, is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally, all this is very true for our own times, in which material interests preponderate, but not for the Middle Ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics, reigned supreme. In the first place, it strikes one as an odd thing for anyone to suppose that these well-worn phrases about the Middle Ages and the ancient world are unknown to anyone else. This much, however, is clear, that the Middle Ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics. On the contrary, it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why here politics, and there Catholicism, played the chief part. For the rest, it requires but a slight acquaintance with

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the history of the Roman republic, for example, to be aware that its secret history is the history of its landed property. On the other hand, Don Quixote long ago paid the penalty for wrongly imagining that knight errantry was compatible with all economical forms of society."

These sentences possess not only great theoretical significance for us, but also a quite extraordinary practical importance. When today fascism reduces whole nations to the intellectual level of the age of Genghis Khan, proclaiming war and plunder as the vital task of mankind, in an age which, in contrast to the Asiatic desert empire of the thirteenth century, has at its disposal enough wealth to assure abundant provision for the whole population, that is much more of an anachronism from the standpoint of the general evolution of society than the mode of life of the knight of the sorrowful countenance.

To be sure, it is none other than Marx who lays bare the cruelties of rising capitalism, who shows us how this capitalism reeks of blood and filth from all its pores.

Obviously, its end is like its birth.

The bloody orgies of dying capitalism are perhaps even more horrible than were those of capitalism at its beginning; but they are the orgies of *dying* capitalism.

* * *

The most tremendous thing in *Capital,* it seems to us, is the clear elaboration of materialist dialectics in theory and, above all, in practice.

In the epilogue to the second edition Marx deals with this at length and very intelligibly. He draws a sharp line of distinction between materialist and idealist dialectics:

"To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, *i.e.,* the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (*Capital,* p. 25.)

In the same passage Marx characterizes materialistic dialectics as a doctrine which

". . . includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because its regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary." (*Capital,* p. 26.)

We find in *Capital* itself the practical application of materialist dialectics in every respect. Let us cite only two instances of this.

The analysis of the commodity already shows the universal contradictions of capitalist society in its germ, especially the origin of the crisis, as we have already indicated. In Marx's formulation this statement reads as follows:

"Circulation burst through all restrictions as to time, place, and individuals, imposed by direct barter, and this it effects by *splitting up,* into the *antithesis* of a sale and a purchase, the *direct identity* that in barter does exist between the alienation of one's own and the acquisition of some other man's product. To say that these two independent and antithetical acts have an *intrinsic* unity, are essentially one, is the same as to say that this intrinsic oneness expresses itself in an external antithesis. If the interval in time between the two complementary phases ot the complete metamorphosis of a commodity

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becomes too great, if the split between the sale and the purchase becomes too pronounced, the intimate connection between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing—*a crisis!*" (*Capital,* pp. 127-128. Our italics—*Ed.*)

To the untrained reader these lines may seem an artificial application of dialectics, but in reality they merely describe a living movement that takes place according to the laws of dialectics.

And now for the second passage. After Marx has succeeded in setting forth in succinct sentences the transformation of the property of direct producers (peasants, artisans) into capitalist private property, the expropriation of capitalist property first by individual capitalists and then their expropriation by the masses of the people, he at once discloses the dialectic regularity of this movement:

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces *capitalist private property*. This is the *first negation of individual private property, as founded on the proprietor.* But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation. It is the *negation of negation*. This does not reestablish private property for the producer, but gives him *individual property* based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: *i.e., on cooperation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production.*" (*Capital,* p. 837. Our italics—*Ed.*)

There is no other passage, even in Marxist literature, where the dialectic presentation of the great historical process is effected in so masterly a manner.

That in the tremendous historical development we are living through, the negation of the negation, the third stage of the dialectical formula, has already become reality in the history of the world is what mankind owes chiefly to the two most brilliant disciples of Marx and Engels: Lenin and Stalin.

It is they who have completed the crowning of the work.

* * *

Unfortunately we must break off here, without having given more than an inkling of the rich content of *Capital.* What is still lacking is an indication of the materialist light shed on the question of religion; the definition of capital (value which produces surplus value, as the brief formula, which is not an exhaustive explanation, however, puts it); the laws of the circulation of commodities; the components of capital (constant capital and variable capital); the various forms of surplus value; wages; the accumulation of capital; or the tendency for the formation of monopolies, which Lenin elaborated still further, creating his revolutionizing theory of imperialism upon this first foundation—all that could not be dealt with.

The real purpose of these pointers is to stimulate the study of *Capital,* this eternal spring of our knowledge, our enthusiasm for the struggle, this document of our world victory.

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FARM LEGISLATION AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

BY JERRY COLEMAN

[*The Central Commitee Plenum, (June, 1937) in its Agrarian Resolution pointed out that "the masses of farmers, left without clear progressive leadership or program, provide the most fertile soil for reactionary and fascist activities." Explaining the danger signal indicated in the reports of farm comrades at the Plenum, Comrade Hathaway dealt with this problem in the August issue of* The Communist, *emphasizing the fascist and semi-fascist forces at work among farmers, the immediate importance of the worker-farmer alliance, and called the entire Party to action on this problem. The present article stresses the role our* entire *Party must play to make a progressive farm legislation program the property of the People's Front.*

Comrades in the cities must raise the issue of support of progressive farm legislation in the labor unions, progressive political movements, etc. An educational campaign based on Comrade Hathaway's and the present articles should be carried on everywhere.

Every district, section and unit of our Party should bend every effort to make the program outlined in this article the property of the farmers and farm organizations in their territory.—The Editors.]

THE senators from agrarian districts swung the balance of power that defeated the Supreme Court Bill. In the December, 1936, plenum of the Central Committee of our Party Comrade Browder warned that the Liberty Leaguers were "reforming their lines for a new attack, preparing new methods to gain the same ends they sought in the elections."

The Chamber of Commerce and all other reactionary forces struck at Roosevelt's weakest flank, the farmers. A steady stream of propaganda through reactionary farm journals, county newspapers, and local politicians condemned the New Deal for not aiding poverty-stricken farmers and accused the New Deal of aiding labor at the expense of the farmer. Flushed with this victory the Liberty Leaguers, through their stooges in Congress, unloosed a double-barreled attack on everything progressive in the New Deal and egged their stooges on to unprincipled attacks on the C.I.O.

Many farmers had hailed the Supreme Court decision outlawing the A.A.A. as a victory for them, failing

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to recognize that the decision really outlawed the principle of farm relief and was a complete concession to their worst enemy, Wall Street, and its demand for "economy." This sentiment, although fostered by the reactionaries, was the real fruit of the New Deal's weak and inadequate farm program.

Recognizing the political trend, Secretary Wallace admitted publicly this spring that the A.A.A. failed to aid materially the lower two-thirds of the farmers. He also indicated that dirt farmers would receive more consideration in future New Deal legislation. The 75th Congress ended, however, with the reactionaries scuttling all important farm measures. Congress found time to grant the Sugar Trust $61,000,000 in subsidies and a monopoly that gives them $300,000,000 to $400,000,000 extra profits by compelling the people by law to pay higher than the world price. Roosevelt signed the bill while denouncing the "unholy alliance between the cane and beet growers on the one hand, and the seaboard refining monopoly on the other." Taking advantage of another do-nothing session, the reactionaries on the Senate Agriculture Committee decided to hold farm hearings throughout the country in October—with the fairly obvious purpose of extending the anti-New Deal fight among the farmers.

Roosevelt's efforts at party harmony failed. All eyes are now turned on the 1938 Congressional elections with the reactionaries hell-bent on winning farm support to defeat pro-labor candidates and bolster reactionary strength in Congress. Comrade Browder clarified the broader meaning of this in his report to the June, 1937, Central Committee Plenum, analyzing it as ". . . representing something new—a political alignment dominated, not by regional differences among the bourgeoisie, but by class stratification among the masses of the population." The Southern landlords, Mid-West corporation farmers, and the Eastern bankers and industrialists, regardless of party lines, have formed their alliance.

When the New Deal replaced the do-nothing Hoover regime in 1933 the country was at the depth of the worst agricultural crisis in its history. Farm prices had hit an all time low, warehouses were glutted and farm markets suffered in proportion to the 17,000,000 unemployed and the reduced wages and hours of labor. Mortgage foreclosures and tax sales were driving thousands of farmers into tenancy or from the land completely. Farm credit was scarce as hens' teeth. In the Middle-West farm revolts were breaking out. Unprecedented years of drought devastated not only the land on the Great Plains, but the farmers as well. Wall Street was suffering from depression nightmares. It was in this setting that Roosevelt formed his alliance with the Southern landlords and the Farm Bureau in return for their support of his labor and social legislation. The landlord and corporation interests, best exemplified by Southern Bourbons like Carter Glass, Cotton Ed Smith, John Bankhead and Pat Harrison, so fixed the New Deal farm legislation that control of the program fell into the hands of the most powerful financial and political interests in the counties. In addition, they arranged for the rich farmers and banks and corporations

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owning farms to receive millions of dollars in subsidies (this later became a New Deal scandal—with Congress *reactionaries* doing the *exposing*). These two factors are the core of farmer opposition to the A.A.A. Now the reactionary Congressmen that saddled this program on the New Deal, and whose friends got all the gravy, are blasting the New Deal for not aiding the farmers, setting themselves up as the farmers' champion. Now they are riding the wave of farm opposition, utilizing it for their attack on every progressive New Deal measure and on the C.I.O.

True, the liberals Roosevelt placed in the farm agencies were bound down by the limitations of Congress, misled by the Farm Bureau and harried on all sides by bitter opposition from dirt farmer unions. They did not have power, or courage, to do more than sympathize with the plight of the farmers and their protests against injustice, or the assumption that to have sided with the poverty-stricken farmers would have endangered Roosevelt's alliance with the Southern Democrats. At best they presented a face-saving "liberal" front for a very conservative farm program.

The New Deal farm program would not have remained in hot water if Roosevelt had the courage to champion the fight for the political rights of the disenfranchised Southerners, Negro and white, and thus build his political stronghold among the "forgotten men" he talked so much about.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIONS

The principal organization of toiling farmers, the National Farmers Union (membership over 100,000), was corrupted by the anti-New Deal Coughlinites, whose spokesman was the National Secretary, Ed Kennedy. Instead of participating in the New Deal to fight the reactionary interests, the Kennedy-Coughlin leadership hammered away at its inflationist program—the Frazier-Lemke Mortgage Refinancing Bill and the Thomas-Massingale Cost of Production Bill. This line of attack built the anti-New Deal sentiment to some extent, but Farmers' Union members were frustrated by lack of a constructive working program. One of their criminal acts was the National President Everson's testimony before the Senate Committee opposing Roosevelt's Supreme Court measure. The Farmers' Union convention resolution called for Supreme Court change, so the tricky Coughlinites had their stooge Everson testify his personal opinions as President of the union.

The Northwest block of the Farmers' Union, opposed to the Kennedy-Coughlin leadership, supported the New Deal. In the last convention they ousted Kennedy as national secretary; but the bitter factional strife has stopped the hesitant, confused progressive majority from taking any serious steps in support of the New Deal labor and social legislation or a firm program of progressive farm legislation.

One of the steps to change this situation was stated in the Agrarian Resolution adopted at the June Central Committee Plenum, as follows:

"In our mass work our main concentration must be to build the National Farmers' Union, to develop local, state and national programs around which we can rally and crystallize a firm progressive leadership. The

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first objective must be to defeat this group (Kennedy-Coughlin) at the coming Farmers' Union convention and establish a pro-labor progressive program and leadership."

A progressive victory will bolster the courage of the present progressive members, formulate a pro-labor progressive program around which an extensive organizing drive can be launched to unionize the masses of farmers, and allow the Farmers' Union to play its part in the developing People's Front and the fight against reaction and fascism.

In the South the Sharecroppers Union and Southern Tenant Farmers' Union fought the injustices under the A.A.A. and used this fight for the most effective struggle against the semi-feudal sharecropping system, exposing it as a national disgrace. Lacking political power, these unions had to rely on mass support and pressure in the counties and support from the North and West. Through this the struggle against special oppression of Negroes, for civil and democratic rights and for improvement of living standards was raised to a higher level. The amalgamation of the tenants and sharecroppers in the Sharecroppers Union with the Farmers' Union marked the first step in the program for one national union of toiling farmers, and in the South it meant a big stride ahead in the fight for unity of white and Negro.

The struggle for these political rights of the Southern people and the election of progressives to Congress is one of the most important tasks facing our Party, not only to broaden Southern democracy and win economic concessions, but to unite the nation in the People's Front.

A.A.A. AMENDMENTS

The Communist Party never has and never will endorse the principle of "scarcity" in a farm program while "one-third of the nation is ill-led, ill-housed and ill-clothed." If every citizen were to get the fully safe but not luxurious diet set forth by Dr. Stiebeling of the Department of Agriculture, another acre would have to be harvested for every five now in production—and any export of farmstuffs would require a further increase in harvested acreage.

In order to wipe out the influence of the Liberty League and block Wall Street's demand for "economy" it is necessary to unite the unions and all progressive groups on a program of constructive amendments to the A.A.A. Some of the essential amendments are the following:

1. Increased soil conservation work with increased benefit payments to working farm owners, tenants and sharecroppers. The benefit payments must be recognized as farm relief and must be continued until farm prices and markets can guarantee the farmer sufficient income to operate the farm profitably. The soil conservation work must be increased to repair the millions of acres of eroded and worn-out land and to eradicate all possible factors contributing to soil erosion.

2. A.A.A. benefit payments to rich farmers or to banks and corporations owning or operating farms must not exceed $5,000.

3. Prices of major crops must be pegged at higher levels to meet the rising consumer prices, rents and taxes. Measures to regulate profiteering in farm products by the corpora-

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tions and bankers must be passed to protect both farmer and consumer.

4. A.A.A. regulations must specify that the Control Committees are to be elected by a majority of the toiling farmers in a county and that only toiling farmers are eligible to the committee.

FARM TENANCY

It is estimated that more than 50 per cent of the farmers of our country are tenants. In the South alone there are 2,000,000 white and Negro tenants, many of whom slave under semi-feudal conditions. According to the United States Census an average of 40,000 farmers lose their land every year. The President's Farm Tenancy Commission estimated that almost a million farmers were on the verge of losing their land. Increasing thousands of farmers are forced to supplement their farm income by wage labor to meet their debts and maintain their families.

The Resettlement Administration was organized by the New Deal to sound out a land program and to aid in rehabilitating farmers being driven from the land. Resettlement met the same fate as the A.A.A. Its work could have been of great assistance to distressed farmers if control had not been vested in the political bosses of the counties (as happened in almost all cases, with exceptions in the Northwest, where the Farmers' Union put its own members in control).

The Sharecroppers Union and Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the South had blazed the trail with the demand for land. The Resettlement Administration, by the very nature of its intended service, helped raise and popularize the cry for land. Reactionaries in Congress were at first panicked into agreeing to a land program, but as Wall Street got over its depression nightmares the reactionaries were whipped into a firm opposition to it.

The meager provisions of the Bankhead Farm Tenancy Bill would not have benefited one tenant per county and could have benefited a maximum of 20,000 tenants in three years while tenancy increases at the rate of 40,000 per year. But after it was passed the funds for it were stricken from the Appropriation Bill, in the name of "economy," and the feeble gesture was defeated. Wall Street not only wants "economy" but fears the increased demands for land that will result from the hopes inspired by even a small land program.

The Boileau Farm Tenancy Bill was introduced at the request of the Farm Holiday Association. This bill would provide $500,000,000 to start a farm ownership program. A program of this scope would not only check the yearly tenancy increase but would place about 60,000 of the present tenants on their own land each year. Democratic control by dirt farmers would be insured election regulations provided in the bill. Interest rates on loans would be 1½ per cent while the Bankhead Act would charge 3 per cent. The Boileau Bill provides for title to the land to be held by a Farmers' Security Corporation, thus preventing foreclosure or eviction by any bank or creditor. The Bankhead Act provides no protection to the purchaser. The Boileau Bill provides that payments shall not exceed one-half the farmer's cash in-

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come from crops, and that in years of drought or other crop disaster the payment would be deferred. It would provide assistance to cooperatives and supply loans on reasonable terms to farmers in danger of losing their land.

Congress reactionaries prevented the bill from reaching the floor for discussion. Now the widest support must be organized in support of the Boileau Farm Tenancy Bill to make it a major issue in the next Congress. The cry for land by millions of the South's disinherited must be turned into powerful support of the bill. The farmers of the Middle West, suffering now more than ever before, must be rallied for support of the bill. The labor movement and Labor's Non-Partisan League must demonstrate their support of the farmers' demands by fighting for the bill. In the Congressional elections the bill must be the outstanding farm plank in the progressive program. It must be a battle-cry in the struggle against Wall Street interests in the countryside.

FARM MORTGAGE REFINANCING

In 1934 it was revealed that 67,000 farms belonged to 111 insurance companies and 21,400 farms belonged to 170 banks. This is but a slight indication of what happens to the land of approximately 40,000 farmers each year and the danger almost a million small farmowners face with mortgages they cannot possibly meet. Here again the principle of making capitalism protect farm ownership by law until farm prices and markets provide sufficient farm income to meet the operating and living expenses of the farmers must be part of the People's Front program. While mortgage moratoriums in many states served as a partial stop-gap on foreclosures in the last few years and were a partial recognition of that principle, they only delay the day of final reckoning. Today foreclosures are increasing.

The farm mortgage refinancing provisions of the Boileau Bill, on the same liberal terms that the purchase loans would be made, should make this bill the center of the legislative fight against mortgage foreclosures.

The Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Refinancing Bill widely publicized by the Kennedy-Coughlin-Lemke leaders in the Farmers' Union contains features that make it a danger to the progressive movement. The inflationary provision would allow Federal Reserve Notes to be issued and backed by Farm-Loan Bonds which in turn would be backed by first mortgages on farm land, buildings and livestock. This inflation feature is part of Father Coughlin's semi-fascist program. It is important to note that Kennedy, the stooge for Father Coughlin, utilized the national apparatus of the Farmers' Union, while he was Secretary, to concentrate on the Frazier-Lemke Bill and other inflationist bills, principally the Cost of Production Bill and Senator Thomas' Money Control Bill. Anti-inflation sentiment among farmers forced the Kennedy crowd to deny these bills were inflationary but simply proposing money-reform.

An inflationary program does not attack the basic problem of disparity between farm prices and consumer prices under the profit system. It misleads farm resentment against Wall Street profiteering. There is always the danger, especially now, that such

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an inflationist program will be the rallying point of a fascist movement among the farmers.

The Communists and progressives in the farm movement must carry on a strong campaign to show farmers that the first apparent aid from increased prices and a new favorable farm debt ratio would be more than wiped out in a short time by increased consumer prices, restriction of markets, restriction of credit and an intolerable rise in the farm debt burden. The farmers must be educated to the fact that inflationists will want to solve all the new crises by more inflation until the country is in the same hopeless mess Germany was after the war or that we suffered in the old Greenback days. All inflationist movements must be defeated as a danger to the progressive movement, as the program of a potential fascist movement.

The other feature of the Frazier-Lemke Bill that nullifies aid to poverty-stricken farmers is that of placing operation and control in the hands of the Farm Credit Administration. The Farm Credit Administration is designed to aid only those farmers who have some security for loans. In the last few years the F.C.A. has collected debts in the same ruthless manner as the bankers and loan companies. The F.C.A. is a concession to Wall Street's demand for "sound business" and "no farm relief." Farmers who have the security demanded by F.C.A. can get loans elsewhere, farmers who have no collateral and really need government crop loans cannot get them.

The farm organizations must throw their entire support behind the Boileau Bill and make it the center of the fight against mortgage foreclosures. By taking this path the farmers will receive the support of the labor and progressive movement.

In 1932 the corporations were paying only 26 per cent of the taxes they paid in 1929 on corporate income while the Department of Agriculture reports for the same period the property tax on farm land increased from $1.19 to $1.50 per $100 of farm value. Among farmers the small farmers bear the greatest burden. The Twentieth Century Fund, a research agency, reports that in Illinois a farmer with a gross income of $500 pays 15.6 per cent in taxes and the per cent declines increasingly so a farmer with $2,000 income pays 10.1 per cent in taxes.

They do not give figures for higher incomes, but the political favors granted richer farmers are a guarantee of much lighter taxation. The report says taxation in other states is similar to that in Illinois. Small wonder then that between 1933 and 1936 over 800,000 farms came into possession of the states through tax delinquencies. In Mississippi alone 60,000 farms came into possession of the state through tax delinquency in the first nine months of 1932.

This situation has given great impetus to the demand for Homestead Exemption laws covering farms up to $5,000 valuation. In several states exemption laws have been enacted, but they should be amended upwards to $5,000. The tax burden is one of the heaviest the farmer has to bear. The Kennedy-Coughlin group in the Farmers' Union did not carry on a strong fight for Homestead Exemptions, nor for the Graduated Land Tax, because these tax laws benefit the

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farmer at the expense of the moneyed interests in the county and state. The Homestead Exemption must be pushed in every state as a measure to ease the small farmers' debt burden and as a check on the increase in tenancy.

The Graduated Land Tax on Farms valued at $5,000 and over is important both as a source of revenue for county and state governments and as a check on land monopoly. The fight for these laws should go hand in hand with the fight for Homestead Exemptions. The Graduated Land Tax fight will help draw the class lines between the middle farmer and the rich farmer, one of the important tasks confronting Communists and progressives in the farm movement.

In Alabama last year Governor Graves tried to win farm support for the sales tax in exchange for the Homestead Exemption law. To his dismay the farmers, particularly in union counties, fought the sales tax harder than ever and got the Homestead Exemption anyhow. Most Southern states now have sales taxes. while the sales tax is an issue in almost all of the other states. The defeat of the sales tax and the principle involved are of greatest importance and have the wide support of the masses. The Communist Party and farm and labor organizations must utilize the fight on the sales tax to bring forward the demand for increased taxation of corporate profits, large incomes, etc., to meet the cost of farm and unemployment aid and other social legislation. In the counties this must become an issue in the elections, forcing the split between progressives and reactionaries in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT PROGRAM

The essential features of the legislative program outlined in this article provide:

1. A constructive program that concerns the most vital and pressing needs of the farmers.

2. The issues on which progressives can isolate and destroy the influence of the reactionaries, especially in the coming Congressional elections.

3. A program to which labor can be rallied and the Farmer-Labor alliance built.

An extensive campaign to make these issues the fighting front of all dirt farmer organizations, and of the People's Front, will bring farm support for all progressive New Deal legislation as well as force the New Deal to support a genuine farm aid program. The progressive movements within both of the old parties can be crystallized in agrarian regions around this program, and Liberty League stooges can be destroyed politically.

In the preparation for the coming elections it is necessary for our Party to give the widest popularity to this program and make it the property of the progressive movement. Every district of the Party must work to have this program become the property of the National Farmers' Union, with special emphasis on making it the rallying point to isolate the Kennedy-Coughlin forces in the Farmers' Union November convention. Popularization of this program in the labor and progressive movement can be the basis of a powerful worker-farmer alliance that will defeat the fascist and reactionary forces at work among the farmers.

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AFTER THE YOUTH CONGRESS

BY CARL ROSS

UNDOUBTEDLY the Fourth American Youth Congress held in Milwaukee, in July, represented a long step forward in the establishment of youth unity. Its broad character and scope were of course possible only as a result of the extension and growth of all the progressive forces in the country, the C.I.O. organization drive, and the rapid development and strengthening of the People's Front movement in the struggle against reaction.

Seventy-five national organizations, including seventeen international unions, sent delegates or official observers. These groups represented practically all trends and sections of the youth movement, and indicated the broad appeal that the congress has. In contrast to this strong national representation and the possibilities present, the representation of state and local organizations, slightly less than a thousand, reflected the inadequate preparation for the congress. Better planned and more intensive work in all parts of the country would have increased the representation.

The basis for the continuation of the Youth Congress movement was laid by the "findings" of the various congress commissions and by bringing up to date and adopting the "Declaration of Rights of American Youth," first endorsed by the Second Congress in Detroit. The resolutions adopted by the commissions do not become binding upon the various organizations in the Congress. Willingness to cooperate upon one or more issues embodied in the "Declaration" and endorsement of the principles of mutual cooperation on which the American Youth Congress is based are the basis of affiliation to the movement. Thus, the American Youth Congress becomes a center of youth collaboration around progressive issues.

In the "Declaration of Rights" the congress states its opposition to war and fascist aggression by declaring:

> "We oppose war and its trappings of mounting armaments, of militarism in education and C.C.C. camps. We oppose its ruthless destruction as exemplified in the bombing of Guernica by fascist aggressors. We do not want to die! We assert our right to peace and our determination to work for peace through the education of young people and by cooperating with the youth of other lands for world peace."

The declaration further states:

> "To guarantee the maintenance and extension of our democratic rights, we oppose all undemocratic tendencies which deny the right of freedom of expression and action, to labor, racial minorities, and religious groups."

The findings of the congress include a wealth of material on many immediate problems of youth never previously considered thoroughly by such a youth gathering. These prob-

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lems covered such questions as health, social hygiene, recreation, juvenile delinquency, and vocational training.

Both in its findings and in the declaration the congress labels fascism as the aggressor and declares itself to be against those reactionary groups that threaten peace and democracy at home and abroad. By endorsing such policies, the delegates aligned themselves with the main stream of progressive activity in the country and established the congress as an independent movement of youth allied with the major progressive forces.

It is particularly in the light of events and developments since the congress that its policies and perspectives should be discussed. The sharpening threat to world peace, the scuttling of the Supreme Court Bill and other social legislation require greater activity and vigilance on the part of the progressive groups. The young people are also victims of the attacks of the reactionaries, who have forced through a sharp reduction in the budget allotted to youth aid through the National Youth Administration. The American Youth Congress must take up the challenge and demand that the rights of the young generation be safeguarded from reaction.

Youth organizations in each city and state should take the initiative in pointing their finger at local reactionaries who attempt to stifle the voice of the people and who oppose necessary measures for the education and employment of youth. Youth must expose their names and their reactionary policies to the public eye. The youth movement should especially uncover and attack those Nazi groups and other fascist organizations that attempt to win the youth for their vicious policies. At the same time, the struggle for civil liberties, for the right to speak, write, and organize should be prosecuted with vigor. The freeing of those Scottsboro boys who have not yet been released is a vital part of the campaign for the protection and equality for Negro youth everywhere.

The American Youth Congress has already charted its main course as the major center of growing youth unity around progressive issues. We Communists give our full endorsement to those policies and are ready to work to help carry out the objectives the Youth Congress has set for the progressive youth movement.

WIN THE YOUTH FOR PEACE

Although the delegates at this Model Congress of Youth endorsed a correct and practical policy for maintaining American and world peace, it is not to be assumed that this is the accepted peace policy of all the youth organizations cooperating with the congress. In fact a great section of the youth movement and the youth peace organizations are strongly influenced by "neutrality" and isolationist sentiments that disarm them in the struggle for peace.

An indication of the confusion prevalent in the youth movement can be given by an examination of the resolution on peace adopted by 5,000 delegates to the National Convention of Young Democrats, in August:

"NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Young Democratic Clubs of America do hereby condemn war as an instrument of national policy and

"RESOLVED, that we endorse the principles in existing neutrality legislation,

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"RESOLVED, that we favor cooperation among the nations, especially the democracies, of the world, to outlaw aggression and aggressors."

On the one hand, they are victimized by "neutrality" illusions growing out of a theory of isolation, yet a strong current towards collective action against the fascist aggressors by the democratic nations is expressed. These healthy trends towards a correct peace policy in the youth movement must be strengthened.

Particularly for this reason the resolutions of the congress which declare for a realistic peace policy based upon implementing and applying the Kellogg Peace Pact and the Nine-Power Pact should become the property and policy of all youth groups. A campaign of discussion and activity must be developed that will lead the youth to the conclusion that this is the only correct program on which to fight at the present time.

The possibilities for building a peace movement including and influencing the major youth organizations are further developed in the Youth Congress and in the organization of its permanent "Peace Commission." Closer collaboration of the American Youth Congress with the United Student Peace Committee, the youth section of the Emergency Peace Campaign, and other peace groups is necessary. The extension of the youth peace movement, however, must go hand in hand with a mobilization of all those youth who accept a policy of collective security and the winning of new and broader strata of youth for this policy and for the congress resolutions.

Today the government is pursuing a foreign policy which fails to place any serious obstacles in the path of fascist aggressors and which, by its spurious "neutrality," as in the case of Spain and China, in effect encourages their criminal assaults upon the peace of the world. The decisions of the American Youth Congress are an instrument for acquainting youth with the realities of the situation, and for developing among them sentiment and pressure for a uniform, practical peace policy on the part of the government.

The Christian youth have strong ties with youth of other lands through their many international organizations. They burn with indignation over Japan's invasion of China and fascist intervention in Spain, and they seek world peace. The youth movement must mobilize them around demands upon the government for a realistic peace policy in keeping with the position of the American Youth Congress. The leaders of the Y.W.C.A. especially bear a responsibility to bring to the members of the Y and to all Christian youth the strong position of their national organization for positive international collaboration for peace.

The representatives of youth in the labor movement, who formed the largest section of youth at the American Youth Congress, could have a tremendous effect upon the government's foreign policy if they would help to mobilize labor organizations for the positive peace program put forward by the American Youth Congress. The student peace movement has a long and effective history. It has many bonds of internationalism; scores of students fight today in Spain;

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close ties have been woven with the students of China and of other nations. If this movement were to demand of the government that it throw its influence against the fascist aggressors and for the maintenance of world peace, in line with the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the government could not disregard its voice.

If this campaign to wipe out dangerous isolationist illusions among the youth is immediately undertaken, the pressure of youth upon the government for a practical peace policy can become a major instrument in the maintenance of world peace.

THE YOUTH CONGRESS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The largest single bloc of delegates at the model congress was from the trade unions, representing both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions. These youthful delegates from the unions saw in the congress an instrument for uniting labor with the middle class, farm and student youth. Undoubtedly this group of trade union delegates played a most important role in influencing the entire course of the Congress. In turn the joint activity of the unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in the congress around the issues affecting the youth should be an important contribution in defeating Green's reactionary policies and to establishing joint action and trade union unity. The congress made clear that among the workers in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. there is basic agreement and only the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. Executive Council bar the road to unity of labor.

A big job lies ahead of the "Labor Commission" of the congress in developing a campaign around the resolutions of the congress. Among these was a resolution for trade union unity, on the basis of a policy of organization of the unorganized into the type of organization most fitted to the needs of young workers, who are mainly employed in the mass production industries.

Vocational and apprentice training for youth, higher wage scales for young workers, rights to organize and strike, these are issues that vitally affect the youth and concern the Youth Congress. It is significant that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union at its International Convention passed a resolution affiliating to the American Youth Congress, paving the way to large trade union participation in the movement locally and nationally. The participation of the trade union movement in the congress will be one of the best guarantees that it maintains its progressive character and independence.

A PEOPLE'S PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

All the possibilities exist for the development through the American Youth Congress of a broad democratic people's program for education. Such important organizations in the educational field as the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, the National Association of Deans of Women, the American Council on Education and a number of student organizations such as the American Student Union participated in the Youth Congress through delegates and observers. These organizations represent the large and influential organizations

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that can develop such a program and rally mass support for it. The "Education Commission" of the American Youth Congress has the task of uniting these and other groups.

The time is ripe to introduce a note of clarity into the confusion that reigns among educators who fail to understand what is needed to place American education on the road to progress. President Roosevelt has set up a national Advisory Committee on Education. The people should place before this committee and the administration a constructive, progressive and democratic program for education.

Such a program would be based on the major problems that face the educational system. It should provide, first, the extension of facilities for education and the halting of curtailment of educational budgets, as the answer to reactionary attacks on their budgets; second, the revision of school curricula to give a progressive and democratic character to the content of education. This requires, among other things, the introduction of courses in labor problems, the culture of the Negro people, a correct interpretation of American history and the elimination of all chauvinistic, anti-labor and pro-fascist tendencies and influences on education. Third, such a program should secure democracy in education by guaranteeing to teachers and students full academic rights, the right to organize in progressive organizations and trade unions, and the right to organize activity for peace and democracy in the schools.

Naturally such a program is not the concern of the Youth Congress alone. In the coming municipal elections the issues of education as they apply to the communities and states will play a major role. The school system is the concern of large sections of the people who are interested in the education of their children. Progressive candidates should be urged to put forward programs based on a progressive approach to education in the coming municipal elections. In New York, for instance, the American Labor Party already advances at least a partial program of this sort. Where candidates are elected or where they already hold office, as in Minnesota and the State of Washington, they should be urged to take the initiative together with the whole progressive movement to develop a real local people's educational program around which to rally the people against reaction and for the improvement and democratization of the educational system.

THE FARM YOUTH MOVEMENT

At this time one of the key questions facing the progressive movement as a whole is the creation of unity between labor and the farm population and the rallying of the farmers to the struggle against reaction. This same problem faces the youth movement. Up to this time the American Youth Congress has not reached the great masses of organized and unorganized farm youth. They have to a large extent remained outside of the development among the youth of the urban centers. If the whole generation of young people is to be united for common aims the farm youth must build their own unity and cooperate with the existing progressive youth movement.

Therefore, the presence of a num-

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ber of delegates from farm youth groups at the Milwaukee congress was a welcome note indeed. They came from such significant farm organizations as the American Country Life Association and various state movements of the Future Farmers of America, the 4H Clubs, the National Farmers Holiday Association, etc. Meeting in a special commission to discuss their problems as farm youth, these delegates passed a resolution for the calling of a farm youth congress modeled after the American Youth Congress. This first step towards the creation of unity among the farm youth is to be welcomed. The youth of rural America deserve every support in this undertaking.

Unfortunately, the progressive organizations are very weak in the countryside, and the leadership of the large movements such as the 4H Clubs and the Future Farmers is largely in the hands of conservatives and influenced by the reactionary Farm Bureau. To be really representative of the farm youth and to develop a real program in their interests such a farm movement must include the progressive farm groups and the organizations of the small farmers and agricultural workers. The participation of these organizations and especially the Farmers Union Juniors will help to guarantee the independence of this movement and will help to assure that it will take a stand against reaction, for democracy and peace and will establish friendly relations with the labor movement.

The various Christian youth movements which have thousands of members in small towns and rural areas should be urged to bring their progressive programs and the program of the Youth Congress to these youth. The student movement should help prepare agricultural students and students from farm areas to play a progressive role in their home communities. The Farmers Union Junior movement must be established as a mass progressive youth organization. This will be one of the tasks to be begun at the coming Farmers Union Convention in November where the progressives will work to bring this organization more fully behind a progressive program and break the attempts of reaction to use it for their own purposes.

BUILDING THE YOUTH CONGRESS

Such an ambitious program for peace and democracy, for progressive education, for uniting the farm youth, cannot be undertaken without consolidating the American Youth Congress nationally and in the various states. Two main problems face the Youth Congress:

First, to affiliate the national organizations that cooperate with the Congress to the National Council and to bring them into active participation in the work of the various commissions set up by the Resident Board.

Some important steps towards bringing in large and influential youth organizations have already been made since the Milwaukee Congress. The National Young Men's Assembly of the Y.M.C.A. in its annual meeting voted to send observers to the National Council of the Youth Congress and authorized its executive committee to send official representatives whenever it saw fit to do so. The National Council of Methodist Youth

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meeting early in September voted to appoint official representatives to the National Council of the American Youth Congress. Other movements, such as the Boy Scouts and Catholic youth, were undoubtedly very favorably impressed by the congress. The bonds of mutual collaboration with a number of important youth groups, such as the Christian Youth Building a New World, with its 10,000,000 members, the Baptist Young People's Union, the United Christian Youth Movement, should be strengthened.

Secondly, state youth congress movements and local youth councils should be built in all states and localities. A number of such movements modeled upon the state and municipal governmental bodies are already being set up. These model state legislatures, youth assemblies and city councils will establish more direct contact with the youth and with the lower organizations of the national groups. They can become powerful instruments for educating and mobilizing the youth.

The various youth groups are particularly willing to cooperate on such issues as child delinquency, recreation, and social hygiene. The development of collaboration around these issues is therefore of particular importance.

The American Youth Congress has an important part to play in giving special attention in its program and activities to the problems of the Negro youth, to making the struggle for rights of young Negroes and against discrimination of all kinds an integral part of its broader program in the interests of democracy and for the formation of a broad People's Front.

THE ROLE OF THE Y.P.S.L.

In contrast to the constructive role the Young Communist League has played in helping to develop the American Youth Congress, the Young People's Socialist League has pursued a sectarian policy, and where the Trotskyites have controlled the Y.P.S.L. its role has been one of disruption and sabotage.

The Y.P.S.L. expelled the Trotskyites at its recent convention, but it has not yet rid itself of all Trotskyite influences. Let us hope that, having excluded the Trotskyites, it will rid itself of sectarian tendencies in relation to the American Youth Congress and adopt a policy of real positive support of the Youth Congress and of struggle against the Trotskyites.

Akron, Ohio, is a classic example of the methods of disruption and sabotage of the Trotskyites. There in the name of the Y.P.S.L. they introduced a resolution in the Central Labor Union calling for a boycott of the American Youth Congress and for condemning it as a fascist organization. The Central Labor Union set up an investigating committee, and in the report of the committee which was adopted by the C.L.U. gave the Trotskyites a fitting answer:

"The committee wishes to emphasize that unless the American Youth Congress receives the active interest and labor support as was dominant in the Milwaukee Congress, this extensive movement of youth would be laid open to the influence and activities of fascist organizations that are hostile to labor. Any proposal, therefore, that labor should withdraw from this powerful youth movement would entail the possibility of grave consequences and injury to labor.

"Therefore, as a result of this investigation, the Committee recommends approval

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of the American Youth Congress as it now stands, that labor take an active part and give support to the American Youth Congress and that labor further take an active part in its activity and extend its interest into the field more extensively."

That is certainly a declaration that condemns in the name of the whole labor movement the disruptive role of the Trotskyites, a declaration that deserves our endorsement and approval.

When the American Youth Congress was being organized by Viola Ilma and had definite reactionary trends, the Y.P.S.L. did not hesitate to enter the movement together with other progressive youth groups and help to transform it into a center of progressive activities. Today, after the reactionary plans were defeated and the American Youth Congress influences millions of American youth for peace, freedom and progress, the Y.P.S.L. is assailed by doubts, hesitations and sectarian fears.

Al Hamilton, National Secretary, writes in an "open letter" to the A.Y.C.:

"If the American Youth Congress is to lay claim to being the center for the rallying of progressive youth to fight the immediate battles of youth today, it must be pro-labor in its orientation. If the American Youth Congress is to play a progressive role in American life then its general orientation will be anti-capitalist."

Hamilton fails to see that which is so obvious to the Akron Central Labor Union, that the American Youth Congress already plays a progressive and pro-labor role. The American Youth Congress unites labor and the Socialists and Communists with the great masses of youth in their common striving for progress. To follow the advise of Hamilton of limiting the American Youth Congress to an "anti-capitalist" position, to only "militant" actions and slogans alone would greatly limit the scope of the movement.

These "Leftist," "ultra-revolutionary" policies are convenient screens behind which real action is hindered. They may also become convenient cover for all kinds of hostile elements to carry on their disruptive work.

In the work of building the American Youth Congress and in its participation in the Fourth Congress the Young Communist League is becoming ever more recognized as an integral part of the progressive youth movement. Its policies and judgement are respected by an increasingly large section of youth. The Young Communist League has been able to gain a wealth of experience from its association with the other organizations of youth and has been able to a great extent to end its isolation from the great masses of youth. In turn the obligation and responsibilities of the League are greater today in joining with other progressive youth in forging the unity of the people that is necessary to defeat reaction in America.

The Young Communist League can be, as it has been, an important factor in building this movement, but it must work modestly and practically, recognizing that the Young Communist League is a minority of this movement and has no intention of forcing it to accept its program or of trying to monopolize its leadership. There are big tasks ahead; but the progressive youth movement is capable of tackling them. The unity of the young generation will be extended and deepened as youth's contribution to the forces of progress, peace and democracy.

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FROM THE WORLD COMMUNIST PRESS

IN REGARD TO CERTAIN DECLARATIONS OF LARGO CABALLERO, IN THE ATTITUDE OF A SPECTATOR, HOSTILE TO THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

Mundo Obrero, Madrid, August 14, 1937

Largo Caballero recently made some declarations to a French newspaperman, in which he affirmed that, before the events of the war, he had been in the position of a spectator. Later, in commenting on these declarations which appeared in *Frente Rojo,* the organ of the Central Committee of our Party in Valencia, Caballero denied them.

Frente Rojo reproduced the facsimile of these declarations of Caballero, as they had been published in *Le Temps,* of Paris, and to which that reactionary paper had devoted a eulogistic editorial in one of its recent numbers. Subsequently, *Frente Rojo* published the following justifiable article [which was reprinted in the *Mundo Obrero*]:

FRANCISCO LARGO CABALLERO denied, last night, in an interview with his own newspaper, the declarations he had made to the *L'Independent des Pyrenees Orientals.* Why did he not deny them before? The statements were published on the 9th in almost the entire French press, and on the 10th were made public in the Spanish press. Largo Caballero should at least have been cognizant of them and their importance. Why did he allow these statements to be published without objection until we, and along with us almost the entire Spanish press, gave them publicity? We are acquainted with Largo Caballero's methods. Is he not the same man who after having made a secret five-hour report, in which he committed not a few indiscretions on the affairs of the war, said that if anyone revealed what he had said, he would deny it publicly? We know the value of his denials. Was it necessary for us to bring to light those statements so that he might answer them? Why did he not do so before? Because the content of those statements corresponds perfectly to his attitude and to the propaganda, surreptitious and open, of those who surround him. What we have to examine is the following: to what extent does the content coincide with the attitude of Largo Caballero and his friends? Let us look—in detail.

It says that Largo Caballero maintains an "attitude of a spectator." What is his attitude toward the government? The National Committee of the U.G.T. [Socialist-Communist controlled General Workers' Union] agreed to give the utmost support and adherence to the present government of the Popular Front. The Executive Committee of the U.G.T., of which Caballero is the leader, has violated the agreement of the National Committee and has from the very beginning manifested increasing hostility toward the government. . . .

In the statements, the offensive of

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Brunete is also discussed. "I do not agree with the general belief as to the efficacy of the Brunete offensive." Against that "general belief," which is the unanimous recognition of the people, stands Largo Caballero. Is he in favor of his statements or against them? What was his attitude during the period of his Premiership when our soldiers were breaking the enemy lines and gaining new glories for our army? During his period of Premiership Largo Caballero was obstinately silent about the heroism of our soldiers. Is this not a thousand times worse than non-conformity with the offensive, which the statements pointed out? Has Largo Caballero said something to rectify and condemn his defeatist attitude when he was Premier? Has he expressed in any form his support of the heroism of the people's soldiers which has won from the enemy positions of prime importance on the very center of the war front, revealing to the world the power of our army, and opening before our people the perspective of victory? Not one word has fallen from the lips of Largo Caballero. How are we not to believe, then, that those statements faithfully interpret his attitude and that of his group?

Largo Caballero says "victory is not doubtful. . . ." But he who does not doubt the victory does not maintain an attitude of aloofness from the government which is forging it, of obstruction to all the methods and acts designed to accelerate it. How do Caballero and his friends contribute to the attainment of victory?

In what way do they participate in the solution of the fundamental problems of the war, which is precisely the manner in which we shall obtain the triumph of our armies more quickly? Is it not precisely those who comprise the group of Largo Caballero, who, in the Executive of the U.G.T., are with the greatest energy, by word or deed, impeding the nationalization of industry so necessary to terminate, once and for all, the chaos and disorganization resulting from individualistic confiscations and the regime by committees? How can one say, then, that one does not doubt victory? Perhaps it is not doubted, because it is too apparent, and is already in the consciousness of the Spanish people. But with attitudes like these, such people do everything possible to delay it and hinder the efforts of those who are working to obtain it.

Largo Caballero does not approve of "the attitude of certain elements." Nevertheless, we are acquainted with his conversations with the foreign delegates of Trotskyism; we know that he has had dealings with Fenner Brockway and that he has promised to help him in the campaign, stimulated by fascism, which is being carried on internationally in defense of the P.O.U.M. provocateurs. Is this not a masked defense of the P.O.U.M. and of the fascist agents who promoted the crimes of May in Catalonia and against whom the National Committee of the U.G.T. adopted a conclusive decision?

What have Largo Caballero and his group done to comply with the agreement of the National Committee? They have received the foreign delegates of Trotskyism at a meeting of the Executive. Thus has Largo Caballero complied with the agreement of the National Committee, thus has he

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condemned the criminals who covered the streets of Barcelona with blood in May and intended to open our front to the enemy!

We have said a thousand times, and repeat it now, that we are ready to march unitedly and to collaborate in the leadership of the war and the country with all the anti-fascist sectors, with all the parties and trade union organizations that are ready to fight to sweep the invaders from our land and to assure the liberty and the well-being of our people. But who has promoted the disunity that has prevented the support of the government by the same forces that supported the previous one, if not Largo Caballero himself? Who has promoted and stimulated the attitude of the C.N.T. [Anarchist-controlled National Workers Confederation] against the other anti-fascist parties and organizations? Who has worked and is working to create an antagonism among trade union organizations and the political parties? Who maintains today the absurd advocacy of a government predominantly syndicalist, and which would carry us to the rupture of the Popular Anti-Fascist Front? All this is the exclusive responsibility of Largo Caballero; this is his work. It is he who has withdrawn from power "those who from the beginning of the revolution gave their hearts and their blood so that fascism might not triumph." For we have been and are ready to collaborate on the basis of a program of common action with the Anarchist comrades.

Whether they are his or come from his group, beware of their declarations. In these days the entire fascist press of France, of Germany, and of Italy is praising him with eulogies, and reproducing his words. They call him "the man of the hour," "the ally of Iberian Anarchism," "the enemy of Russian Communism," they say that he is preparing to take over power. Who is teaching all this to Largo Caballero? Do the eulogies and the propaganda of the fascist press satisfy him? He has done and is doing nothing to deny them by his deeds.

On the contrary: in the new declarations of yesterday afternoon he lets slip the threat of making a sharper and more open campaign. What does he mean? It means, and the people see it, that whatever the origin of these declarations, the attitude that they express, the attitude that the fascist press is today applauding, is the very unquestionable attitude of Caballero and his little group.

But in the same way that we have unveiled them before the eyes of the popular masses, our Party will fight without tiring against the maneuvers of the little groups and against the defeatism of the uncontrollables. We will fight in close unity with the U.G.T. and with the C.N.T., with all the workers and with all anti-fascists, with the indestructible front of the Spanish people. Our Party is vigilant before all the enemies of the people and its cause. We will not lose one moment in unmasking them and stripping them. We will never fail to comply with our duty of working tirelessly and without truce for the interests of the people, to maintain and consolidate more firmly each day the anti-fascist unity of the Spanish people in the Popular Front, to fight tirelessly for the victory of our country and for the destruction of fascism.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A STEP TOWARD NEGRO LIBERATION

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE, by Ralph J. Bunche, Ph.D., Associate in Negro Education. Washington, D. C., 98 pp. Twenty-five cents.

A FRESH breeze is blowing through the class rooms of American colleges, carrying with it elements of Marxist and progressive thought. One of the welcome fruits of this renaissance is a world-embracing study of race attitudes by Dr. Bunche, professor of political science at Howard University.

The brochure begins with the discussion of world race theories, in which the author shows that the basis for racialistic theories is mythical rather than scientific. He properly estimates the dangers inherent in the propagation and spread of such theories, as, for example, the attempt to merge race and nation in Nazi Germany. Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues. A starting point toward a solution of the problem is his conclusion:

"Group antagonisms are social, political and economic conflicts, not racial, though they are frequently given a racial label and seek racial justification" (p. 23).

This point is further developed and elaborated in the second chapter. Discussing the historical basis for present-day prejudices. Dr. Bunche points out:

"The historic origin of racial prejudices and conflicts is to be found in migration of human groups and the invasions by conquering peoples of territory inhabited by other peoples. These conflicts did not result from any innate aversion of one racial group toward another, however. . . . The true historical explanation is that the conquering peoples constituted themselves the ruling class and relegated the conquered group to an inferior status. Thus race became a badge of social superiority and in time the dominant race assumed for itself qualities of moral, intellectual and political superiority, as well as economic privilege" (p. 26).

Approaching the Marxist viewpoint, the author follows up this statement by analyzing the class antagonisms within the dominant races, inferring an alliance of the subject people with the workers of both races.

The main areas of racial conflict where "racial relations of today are pregnant with a danger for the future peace and development of the world" are Africa, West Indies, the Orient, Germany and the United States, according to Dr. Bunche. He discusses the issues in each area. In writing of the conflict in America, the author notes that even within the "solid white front" against the threat of "Negro domination" during the Civil War there were differences as between slave-holders and the poor whites.

That Dr. Bunche realizes the significance of the class struggle is clear. He reasons that with trade union policies based upon "the inevitable realization that workers of the two groups [Negro and white] arrayed against each other in racial conflict have more in common than workers of the dominant group have in common with employers of the dominant group . . . racial conflict tends to be lessened, but class conflict . . . is intensified" (pp. 31-32). The solution of the "race" problem according to the author lies along the road of working class freedom:

"The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in the common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North" (p. 90).

The working class can recognize, unmistakably, in this statement the voice of an active friend and supporter. It is a wholesome and hopeful sign that this statement represents also the social credo of an increasing number of Negro intellectuals.

These intellectuals are no longer objective observers; they now seek to become a positive

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factor in solving *in life* the intricate problem of race which, heretofore, they had been content to pose on paper. The international outlook of this group is contained in the closing paragraph of the second chapter:

"If the oppressed racial groups, as a result of desperation and increasing understanding, should be attracted by the principles of equality and humanitarianism advocated by the Soviet Union (and it is both logical and likely that they will) then racial conflict will become intensified. In such case, however, racial conflict will be more directly identified with class conflict, and the oppressed racial groups may win the support of oppressed, though previously prejudiced, working class groups within the dominant population" (p. 36).

The last two chapters are devoted to "Race and Imperialism" and "Race in the United States." In the first Dr. Bunche exposes the role of monopoly capitalism in the partitioning of the world and the exploitation of the colonial peoples. He correctly differentiates between the French and English methods of colonial rule. The explanation given for the lack of Jim-Crow and segregation in French social life, which carries over into their colonial administration, is not so convincing. There must be a better reason for this French peculiarity than "an extreme egoism . . . and . . . a desire to spread the French culture over the face of the earth." It seems that the historical reason would be found in the nature of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France, which was the most complete in the world. It was only natural then that a people nourished in this atmosphere of bourgeois equality and fraternalism would affect the relations of its dominant class with other peoples. The fact that in England there are still strong feudal hangovers with a parasitical royalty has its effect in the opposite direction on British colonial policy. Aside from this, the author's discussion of the French colonial administration through the use of a "colonial elite" is very interesting and instructive.

In the concluding chapter, where the solution of the Negro question in the United States is discussed, there is a too exclusive emphasis on the class problems involved. Not seeing the Negroes as a nation whose development has been repressed by American imperialism, the author slurs over the national character which the struggle for Negro emancipation must take. The author does not, as yet, follow up his correct thesis—black and white labor unity in struggle for economic demands—with the further perspective for a Negro people's movement led by this united working class. Dr. Bunche's impatience with the waverings of "respectable" Negro organizations destined to play a role in this people's movement and his lack of a fully developed political orientation account for his statement in regard to these "respectable" Negro organizations.

"They shy away from any realistic analysis of the position of the Negro in the American social, political and economic structure. They lead the Negroes up the dark, blind alley of black chauvinism."*

In the many-sided struggle for Negro liberation there must be found a place for these "respectable" organizations, rooted as they are in the life of the people. Their role will be determined largely by the attitude and activity of the working class.

It should be noted that since the days of Booker T. Washington and the heyday of Du Bois—two men whose views the author opposes and challenges—there have been deep-going changes in the program and outlook of the major Negro organizations. The nature of these changes is indicated in the very development of Dr. Bunche himself. Then, too, social conditions in a period of crisis, such as the present, make the type of struggle conducted by the heretofore reformist organizations conflict ever sharper with the interests of the ruling white bourgeoisie. Toward this the working class and its friends cannot be neutral or indifferent. The strictly bourgeois reforms advocated by such organi-

* The term "black chauvinism" (denoting ideas of Negro superiority) is an unhappy choice. It implies that the Negro people are in the role of an oppressor people, and neutralizes the stigma which properly applies to the chauvinism of the white ruling class. At the same time, it tends to disparage justified and praiseworthy resentment of oppressed people against their oppression. Bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalism (denoting a struggle limited to the needs of the Negro bourgeoisie) is a better political term which conveys, we feel, the author's true meaning. Bourgeois nationalism serves to drag the movement for Negro rights and liberation along behind the exploiters of the Negro people.

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zations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be fought tooth and nail by the finance capitalists and the landlords. The achievement of these reforms, then, properly becomes the task of the workers' movement in a mutual fight together with an inclusive front of the Negro people.

It must be said to the credit of the author that the germ of such a conception is evident in his writings. But he hesitates at going the full distance.

His present position forces him into putting forth ultimate aims as an immediate program. In the final analysis the class struggle *will* solve the race question. However, at the present moment, from place to place, the problem varies. So that we cannot conclude, as Dr. Bunche does, that the slogan of the American fascists would be: "Rid the country of the Jew and the Negro. . . ." Certainly there would be intensified persecution of the Negroes and a worsening of their conditions, with all sorts of new-fangled versions of the "inferior race" theory. The method of attack upon them, however, would vary at different times and different localities. And since there would be no immediate danger of competition from the Negro people for the capitalist (and they would try to increase competition between worker and worker) they would on the contrary be particularly careful to preserve their supply of Negro labor for their farms and factories.

We cannot conclude this review without a word about the author himself. Dr. Bunche typifies a man in process of growth. He is definitely on the side of socialism, through the class struggle, as a solution of the problems he poses, even if he does not yet see the whole course toward its realization. This contribution should be greeted as coming from a representative of those in the Negro middle class who "are now beginning to understand the true nature of the issues confronting them" (p. 96).

A. W. BERRY.

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